Inscriptions of the Temples of Puri and Origin of Sri Purusottama Jagannath

Volume-II

Dr. S. N. Rajaguru

The Author

Padmasri Dr Satyanarayan Rajguru, an erudite scholar, epigraphist, historian and eminent writer was born in the illustrious Rajguru family of Paralakhemundi in 1903. After sucessfully completing indological courses in Andhra University he received the title of Ubhaya Bhasa Prabina (Proficiency in two languages). Then he studied the courses on epigraphy, after which he worked as a research scholar in Kalinga Historical Research Society at an early stage. After that he was placed as the Epigraphist-cum-Curator in the State Museum of Orissa and worked there as such from 1950 to 1971.

He had proficiency in English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya languages.

His outstanding contributions of research include History of Gangas (two volumes), Inscriptions of Orissa (five volumes distributed in eight parts), Invocatory verses from Inscriptions (two parts in two volumes), History of Orissa (one volume) in Oriya. Besides, he has written thirteen books on Oriya literature and edited a Sanskrit drama. He has contributed more than 200 articles in different journals.

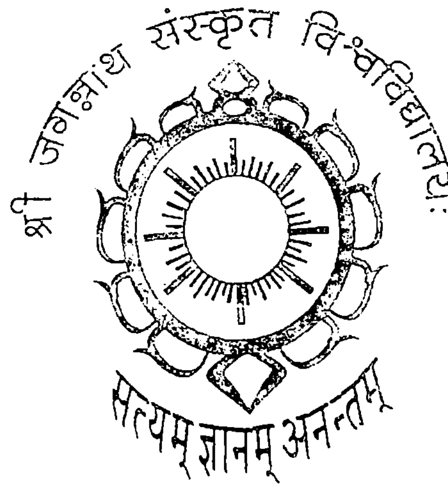
Because of his versatile contributions, he has been awarded with Padmasri by Govt of India in 1974, D.Litt degree by Berhampur University in 1975, Orissa Sahitya Academy award for Linguistics in its Silver Jubilee year, Sarala award and Central Sahitya Academy award in 1996, 'Utkal Ratna' award by Utkal Sahitya Samaj, Prananath Samman in 1997 and the highest award by Sri Jagannath Sanskrit University. Orissa History Congress has felicited him in its session on 1980 with the words "remains as a source of perennial inspiration and admiration to all."

Last, but not the least, he has edited two volumes of inscriptions of Jagannatha Temple at Puri and the origin of Sri Purusottam - Jagannath. The work has been assigned to him by Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri. The first volume has already been published in 1992 and this is the second volume of his monumental work on Jagannath culture.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLES OF PURĪ
AND
ORIGIN OF ŚRĪ PURUṢOTTAMA JAGANNĀTH

Vol - II (Part - I & II)

Dr. S.N. Rājaguru



Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya

Srivihar, Puri, Orissa.

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Published by :-
Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya
Srivihar, Puri, Orissa

First Edition : 2003

Printed at :
Abhijit Computerised Printings
Red Cross Road, Puri - 752002

Price : Rs.

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Shri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya

Shri Vihar, Puri - 3

Foreword

Archaeology is a definite source of reconstructing phases of history. Inscriptional sources are considered as more reliable internal evidences for coming to a historical conclusion primarily based on literary records. The history of Orissa and the history of Lord Jagannātha have often puzzled our scholars of Indology despite their long strenuous efforts. Padmaśrī Dr. Satyanarayan Rajguru has contributed immensely to this field of epigraphy, thus solving many problems hitherto shrouded in mystery in the fields of history and archaeology of Orissa. His complete work on "Inscriptions of the Temples of Puri and Origin of Srī Puruṣottama Jagannātha" in two volumes is now before us as a remarkable epigraphical record of Orissan history and culture shedding new light.

In 1992 the first volume was published containing a few inscriptions of Nṛsiṃha temple and other temples of Puri which Dr. Rajguru deciphered and critically edited along with his own interpretations which has helped the scholars to draw a clearer picture on history of Lord Jagannātha. The present second volume containing a few more inscriptions found in the premises of Śhrī Jagannātha temple and other temples of Purī is sure to add more knowledge in the fields of history and religion of Orissa hitherto unknown.

This is an occasion to express our gratitude to late lamented Dr. Rajguru for whom we all in this university are proud of. I thank his son Shri Sitakanta Rajguru for helping in preparation of estampages from inscriptions and typing the script. I thank Shri Jagabandhu Padhi, ex-Registrar of this university and a known scholar in the field of Jagannatha cult, for his strenuous efforts in editing the text. I further thank Prof. H.K. Satapathy, Prof. B.K. Swain, Dr. J.K. Mishra and several other teacher of the university, Dr. R.C. Misra, Controller of Examinations and the staff of the Centre of Advanced Research in Sanskrit for helping in bringing this work to light. Moreover I must thank our Registrar Dr. P.K. Mishra for taking all strains to publish the work.

I am also thankful to Sri R.R. Mohapatra, proprietor of Abhijit Computerised Printings, Puri and his staff for printing this volume neatly.

The present volume has been published out of the funds made available to the university from the Hundi Interest of Shri Jagannath Temple. I therefore take the privilege of dedicating this volume at the holy feet of Lord Jagannath.

In presenting this valuable record of epigraphic research to the galaxy of scholars of the world, I hope that, like the earlier one, this volume too will be appreciated by them and will continue to inspire the modern Indological researchers in their fields of interdisciplinary studies in history, culture and archaeology.

A. C. Sarangi

Abbreviations

1.	C.I.I.	-	Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, Oxford, Ootcamund.
2.	CJRTO	-	The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, Ed. A. Eschmann, H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathi. South Asia Institute.
3.	E.I., Ep. Ind.,	-	Epigraphia Indica, Department of Archaeology, New Delhi.
4.	H.I.L.	-	History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz
5.	His. Dhar.	-	History of Dharmaśhāstra by P.V. Kane
6.	I.A., Ind. Antiqu.	-	The Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
7.	I.O., Ins. Or.	-	Inscriptions of Orissa, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
8.	I.T.P. & O.S.P.J.	-	Inscriptions of the Temples of Purī and Origin of Śrī Puruṣottama Jagannāth - Vol.-I
9.	I.V.I.	-	Invocatory verses from the Inscriptions, By : Dr. S.N. Rajguru
10.	I.H.Q.	-	Indian Historical Quarterly.
11.	J.A.S.orJ.R.A.S.B.	-	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Londan, Calcutta.
12.	J.A.H.R.S.	-	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
13.	J.K.H.R.S.	-	Journal of Kaliṅga Historical Research Society.
14.	J.N.S.I.	-	Journal of Numismatic Society of India.
15.	J.B.O.R.S.	-	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
16.	M.P.	-	Mādalā Pāñji.
17.	N.M.	-	Nīlādri Mahodaya.
18.	O.H.R.J.	-	Orissa Historical Research Journal, Orissa State Museum.
19.	S.I.I.	-	South Indian Inscriptions, Madaras.
20.	Sk.P.U.K.	-	Skanda Purāṇa, Utkala Khaṇḍa.
21.	S.C.J.	-	Studies is the Cult of Jagannātha - Institute of Orissan Culture, Bhubaneswar.

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PART - I

INSCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLES OF PURI

INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains a comprehensive account of the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Utkaḷa. It is mostly based on epigraphical findings. The cult of Srī Puruṣottama-Jagannātha cannot be separated from the great philosophy of *Vaiṣṇavas*, who belonged to the schools of *Dvaita* and *Viśiṣṭādvaita* precepts, which influenced the Gaṅga and Bhañja kings of Orissā. They adopted Vaiṣṇavism in their kingdom in or about the 10th century A.D.

The earliest revelation of Mādhava or Nīḷa-Mādhava seems to have been made by Śatṛbhañja or his son, Raṇabhañja of Khiñjaḷi-maṅdaḷa, in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Even if they intermittentlv used the titles of *Parama-Māheśvara* and *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* they did not fail to invoke Bhairava (Śiva) and Stambheśvarī (Durgā). Therefore, we assume that Raṇabhañja of Khiñjaḷi-maṇḍaḷa was the earliest known king who installed the three deities in his dominion near Dhṛtipura (near Baudh in the Phulbāni district). Those three deities were re-named, in course of time by the Gaṅga kings, as 'Puruṣottama' in place of 'Nīḷa-Mādhava'; 'Baḷabhadra' in place of 'Bhairava' (Rudra) and 'Subhadrā' in place of 'Stambheśvarī' (Durgā). Therefore, Anaṅgabhīma-III, a devoted king of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, had announced that he was the son of Puruṣottama, Rudra and Durgā, in some of his inscriptions.

After installation of the Trinity in the Nṛsiṃha temple of Purī by Coḍagaṅgadeva's son, Kāmārṇavadeva, in 1150 A.D., a new era of Lord Puruṣottama had been started by the Gaṅga kings of Utkaḷa. A detailed discussion with reference to the epigraphical records, is made in this volume. A gist of it is given as under.

An inscription (No. 19) of the Pātāleśvara temple has already been published in the previous volume. That inscription mentions two regnal years (*saṃvat*) i.e. (i) king Anaṅgabhīma's 15th *samvat* and (ii) Śrī Puruṣottamadeva's 73rd *aṅka*. Unfortunately, Dr. D.C. Sircar, erred in reading some lines of that inscription. But, after securing a clear estampage of it, we read in its 4th and 5th lines as" ''श्रीपुरुषोत्तम देवस्याङ्क ७३ नैवेद्यपदार्थ चाउलकुश्चा।'' Hence, Sri Puruṣottama was installed

in the Nṛsiṃha temple 73 years before the above mentioned inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple was engraved. This inscription was engraved in the 15th regnal year of Anangabhimadeva-III, which year corresponds to the Thursday, 12th June, 1225 A.D. So the 73rd *aṅka* year of Śrī Puruṣottama had fallen in (1225-73 =) 1152 A.D., which is the actual date of the installation of Śrī-Puruṣottama together with Balabhadra and Subhadrā, and which falls during the reign of Kāmārṇavadeva. In 1224 A.D. Anaṅgabhīmadeva visited the Arumala-perumal temple of Kāñcipuraṃ where he installed four perpetual lamps. His grants in 1225 A.D. were made soon after he had relinquished his power of suzerainty in favour of Śrī Puruṣottama. Therefore, he performed Śrī Puruṣottama's *anka* ceremony in the Nṛsiṃha temple five years before the main temple was consecrated.

As long as the stone images of anthropoid structure were worshipped, Śrī Puruṣottama's *aṅka* years were perhaps counted without a break; but after the revision of the structure of images from stone to wood and also from anthropoid to anthropomorphized forms, His *aṅkas* were started from every time while new images were built and consecrated during the *Navakalevara* ceremony. To corraborate this assumption, we refer to a Telugu inscription in the temple of Śrī-Kūrmaṃ during the reign of Vīra-Bhānudeva in *śaka* year 1231 (= 1309 A.D.) when Śrī Jagannāthadeva's *'Vijayarājya-Saṃvatsara'* (*saṃvat*) was counted as three. At first, some scholars thought that Vīra Bhānudeva's second name was Śrī Jagannāthadeva. But, that doubt was swept away after another Telugu inscription from the Siṃhācalaṃ temple was discovered, in which there is the mention of "श्रीदेवादिदेव श्रीजगन्नाथदेवरल विजयराज्यसंवत्सरवुलु १३ श्राहि" (in the 13th victorious reigning year of the supreme lord Śrī Jagannāthadeva). This grant also mentions the *śaka* year 1241(=1319 A.D.). From those two inscriptions we learn that Lord Jagannātha's 3rd and 13th *Vijayarājya-Saṃvatsaras* (*aṅka*) were recorded in A.D. 1309 and 1319 respectively, i.e. while Vīra Bhānudeva-II was ruling over Utkala and Kaliṅga. Before those two inscriptions were incised, the name of Śrī-Jagannātha was not used in place of Śrī Puruṣottama in any public document. Of course, we cannot conclusively say that the name of Devādideva Śrī Jagannātha was introduced by Bhānudeva-II in the first decade of the 14th century A.D.

The presiding deity was called 'Śrī Jagannātha', the Supreme Lord of the

three worlds and superior to the twenty four figures of Viṣṇu, such as Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Puruṣottama, etc. engraved in 24 niches at the top of the great temple of Purī (*Śrīmandira*) like a garland wreathed around. He being the supreme god, superior to all the deities was not included in the twenty four Viṣṇu images. He was called *Dāru-Brahma*.

Mānatuṅga's Bhaktāmara-stotra, which sings the glory of Jina Ṛṣabhadeva, compared him with Lord Puruṣottama. Another Jaina writer, Siddhasena - Divākara stated in his Kalyāṇa-Mandira-stotra that Pārśvanātha (the Jaina *Tīrthankara*) was equal to Hṛṣīkeśa, Viṣṇu, Jagannātha, Jiṣṇu. From the ornate language of his work, Siddhasena's time cannot be assigned to any date before Mānatuṅga. In our view, Siddhasena Divākara's age may be attributed to the 14th century A.D., when the name of Śrī Puruṣottama was either transformed into Śrī Jagannātha or the latter name had become familiar.

In view of the above facts, we believe that the name of Śrī-Jagannātha was used as a synonym of Śrī-Puruṣottama and was popularized either from the first regnal year of Vīra Bhānudeva-II or from the date when the images made of wood and called *Dāru-Brahma* were introduced.

Our next question is regarding the rituals and conventional festivals performed in the Nṛsiṃha temple before the deities were removed to the newly consecrated *Śrīmandira*. Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III is supposed to have set up a fresh workable type of administration in the great temple. For instance the items of *bhoga* offerings to the deities, called *Mahāprasāda*, was not as gorgeous as it is in the present day.

For the daily *naivedya* (*bhoga*) of Śrī Puruṣottama, one Kṛttivāsa Nāyaka had granted lands in *śaka* 1157 (= 1235 A.D.) to meet the cost of daily supply of two *kuñcās* of ghee (*ghṛta*) and curd (*dadhi*) including *vyañjana* (curry) and *tāmbūla* (*pān-supārī*). It is recorded in an inscription of the Pātāleśvar temple (No. 20). By its side there is another record (No. 19) of the same date (1235 A.D.) indicating that some lands were granted to one Mahādeva Paḍhi for supply of one *kuñcā* measure of rice (*caula*) together with *dadhi*, *ghṛta*, *tāmbūla* and *vyañjana* for *naivedya* (*bhoga*) of Puruṣottama. Those two inscriptions reveal that

one *kuñcā* (about three *seers* or nine lb) of boiled rice of which some were mixed with ghee (*ghṛtānna*) and some with curd (*dadhyanna*), together with *vyañjana* (curry) and *tāmbūla* (*pān-supārī*) were the primary offerings (*naivedya*) of the three deities.

Most probably, that little quantity of *Mahāprasada* was neither intended for sale nor for distribution to others except the *pūjāhārīs* only. The literary meaning of the conjoined word '*pūjāhārī*' (*pūjā+āhārī*) is 'one who eats the food offerings'. The title *pūjāhārī* was changed into *paṇḍā* in some later age, when some *Brāhmaṇas* came from foreign islands to settle in Utkala.

The *pūjāhāri* designation was used for *deva-pūjaka* in the time of Coḍagaṅgadeva during his 57th regnal year, which fact is known from an inscription (No.8) of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple.

After the 13th century A.D. a great change took place in the rituals of *Śrīmandira* when the items of food-stuff gradually swelled to culminate in sixty *pauṭis* of cooked rice and thirty six varieties of curry (*vyañjana*) in addition to several items of sweets and cakes. A separate adjoining temple, called *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* was built later to accommodate the additional food-stuff in it for *bhoga*. The total number of items was fifty-six, usually called '*Chapana-Bhoga*'. Even though no epigraphical record in the temples of Puri is available to render a list of all the *bhoga*-items after the 13th century A.D., we think that similar items (which the Gaṅga kings and their Mahādevis had introduced in the Viṣṇu temples of Siṃhācalaṃ in their dominion) also prevailed in '*Śrīmandira*'. For instance, in his 3rd *śrāhi* (1353 A.D.) Bhānudeva-III had endowed in the temple of Varāha-Narasiṃha at Siṃhācalaṃ, a separate *bhoga*, called 'Gaṅgā-Narasiṃha-Bhoga' in the names of his ancestors, and the said *prasāda* was assigned for distribution among the Tirupati- *Vaiṣṇavas* who lived in the said temple. Previously, in 1275 A.D., his mother Gaṅgā-Mahādevī, had introduced a new *bhoga* in the names of her husband and herself (Gaṅgā-Narasiṃha-Bhoga) in the same temple. She granted that *bhoga-prasāda* to *Brāhmaṇas*, engaged for recitation of Purāṇas. In 1387 A.D., one Uttamā-Mahādevī had introduced *jeuṭha-puli* (sweet) for the preparation of which she granted one *aḍḍā* (60 *tolās* or 700 grams) of black-gram, a *māna* (?) of ghee, a half *palaṃ* of suger-cane juice and one *palaṃ* of *khaṇḍa*

(sugar). One Arjuna Jena, the *Bhoga-parīkṣā* of the Varāha-Narasiṁha temple at Siṃhācalaṃ, was entrusted with the duty of regularly implementing it. The item of a sweet called *jeuṭha-puli* is also mentioned in an inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple at Puri (No. 23), engraved during the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, in the *śaka* year 1158 (=1236 A.D.). The name of the sweet was probably derived from a village named *jauṭhapali*. In 1390 A.D., one Tārā-Mahādevī, mother of Narasiṃhadeva-IV (1377-1473) A.D. had introduced some *bhoga* items named *māḍapali-tālya* (plate) 5, *pāyasa-āṭikā* (pot) 1, *pānāmu-kalasa* (drinking-jar) 1, *pāpu* (dal) ....1, *biḍiyā* (*pān-supārī*) 1 etc. for Varāha-Narasiṃha. In the same temple Nīladevī Mahādevī of Narasimhadeva-IV had introduced for daily *bhoga* of Narasiṃhanātha in 1390 A.D., the following items; *manḍapali-tālyā* (plate) 1, *apālu* 5, *pāyasaṃ-āṭikā* (pot) 1, *pānāmu-kalasa* (jar) 1, *pāpu-āṭikā* (pot) 1, *biḍyāmu* (*pān-supārī*) 1, *tirutomal* (garland ?) 1, *tirupaḍi-damālu* (?) 2, *tirumajanaṃ Kāḍuvara* (vase) etc. In the same year, one Rāyaguru Uttama Mahāpatra also introduced a *bhoga* for Narasiṃhanātha, with similar items including one plate of *Manohari*.

In the temple of Śrī-Kūrmaṃ, there is an Oriya inscription which has been engraved in the 33rd *śrahi* of Narasiṃhadeva-IV while one Gaṅgādhara Dāsa was working as *parīkṣā* of Kaliṅga. The latter appointed two *devadāsis* under the *Bhoga-Parīkṣā* of that temple for *cāmara-sevā* (fanning service) stipulating towards their wage to receive daily one pot of *bhāta* (cooked rice) and monthly 15 pieces of *piṭhā* (sweets). Another inscription of the same temple mentions that one Uttamā Mahādevī had introduced a *bhoga* with items named *kuḍumulu* 2, *appālujoḍalu* 10, which was named as Śrī-Mahādevi-Bhoga. In 1406 A.D. one Mahādevī Pārvatī Devī, wife of Narasiṃhadeva-IV had introduced a *bhoga* with the following items : *amudālu* (?) 6, *appālu* 13, *pāppu-āṭikā* (pot) 2, *pāṇālu* (sweet-water) 2, *peruvu* (curd) pot 2, *akhārālu* mixed with *guḍa* etc. In 1417 A.D. an expensive *bhoga* for Narasiṃhanātha was introduced by naming Niśanka-Bhānu-Bhoga. The following items were added in that *bhoga* : *māḍapalli* 4 *thālās* (plates), *kurala-pāppu-āṭikās* (pots) 7, *ciḍitā-manu-ātikā* 2, *valahi* (?)-*āṭikā* 2, *māḍu-killi* (?)-*āṭikā* 1, *ārṣa* (*āriṣa*) 2, *sādhupura-kākarā*- 5, *punnā-chiḍolu* (?) 5, *jauṭaburlu-āṭikālu* 2, *sara-bolā-cakarā*, *mandalu* 8, *dai-baḍālu* 10, *pānālu* 2, *sarabolā-cakarā* 1, *benna-cakarā* 1, *puṇu*-

baṭas, naḍiālā-pāciḍi-ciḍa 1, *tamālapakulu-biḍiyālu* 4, *poṃkālu* 1. For preparation of these items 20 pots of ghee were alloted.

In the Viṣṇu temples of Kaliṅga, during the regime of Gaṅga and Gajapati kings, about thirty items of *bhoga* prevailed. But the number of *bhoga* items were increased in the 15th century, when the Gajapatis Kapilendra deva, Puruṣottama Deva and Prataparudra Deva occupied the throne of Utkala.

In the 11th chapter of Nīlādrimahodaya (a work of about 15th century), we notice that many kinds of fruits and fruit-juices were offered to the deities in *Śrīmandira.* The Oriya Mahābhārata by Sāralā Dāsa, of the same period, also describes a large variety of food-stuff used in aristocratic domains. Like the gradual increase of the food-items in *Śrīmandira*, the number of festivals also increased in between the 14th and the 16th centuries. The prescribed dates and the processes of some important festivals and also the old systems of some other festivals were revised in later times. For instance we may refer to *Netrotsava* and *Rathotsava*, which are performed in the beginning of the bright fortnight of *Āṣaḍha* (June). But from epigraphical source we come to know that those two festivals were not performed in the month of *Āṣaḍha*. For example a Telugu inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple (No. 46) states that in the *śaka* year 1188 (1266 A.D.) and on Thursday, during the month of *Bhādrapada* (August), a king of Mukundagiri, who belonged to the Matsya dynasty had donated nine *rupyās* (silver coins) for the supply of rice 10........ on the occasion of the *Nayanotsava* (*Netrotsava*) of Śrī Puruṣottama. As there is no ambiguity in the reading of this inscription, we believe that the festival of *Netrotsava* was inaugurated in 1266 A.D., in the month of *Bhādrapada* (August) instead of *Āṣāḍha* (June). Of course, the eyes of the deities are re-touched as per usual practice once in a week in the sanctum without any *utsava* like that of *Netrotsava* in *Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā* or *Śukla-pratipadā.* A special Ballabha-bhoga was offered to the deities after the painting of their eyes. Then they were adorned with new garments to appear before the spectators and pilgrims for the *darśana* in the *Nava-yauvana* (new-youth) form. On the next day i.e. the 2nd *tithi* of the bright-fortnight of *Āṣaḍha*, the great festival, called Śrī-Guṇḍicā or *Rathotsava* was performed. That gorgeous festival was continued for nine days, when the deities were carried to their respective chariots and drawn to

Guṇḍicā-*maṇḍapa.* But one wonders, while the deities were absent from *Śrīmandira* upto the 11th *tithi* of the bright fort-night of *Āṣāḍha*, how one could worship them with presents at *Śrīmandira.* An inscription of the Pātālesvara temple (No.19) records that in the 15th *śrahi* of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, and in the 5th *tithi* of bright half of *Āṣāḍha*, one Śrīkaraṇa Suru Senāpati had endowed some food stuffs for *naivedya* to Śrī Puruṣottama. According to the present custom, the above mentioned day is called Herā-pañcamī, when the deities stay in the Guṇḍicā *maṇḍapa* and the *Śrīmandira* is vacant. Therefore, we cannot surmise that a responsible officer of *Śrīmandira* (Śrīkaraṇa Suru Senāpati) would have granted any food-material for *naivedya* to Śrī Puruṣottama in *Śrīmandira.*

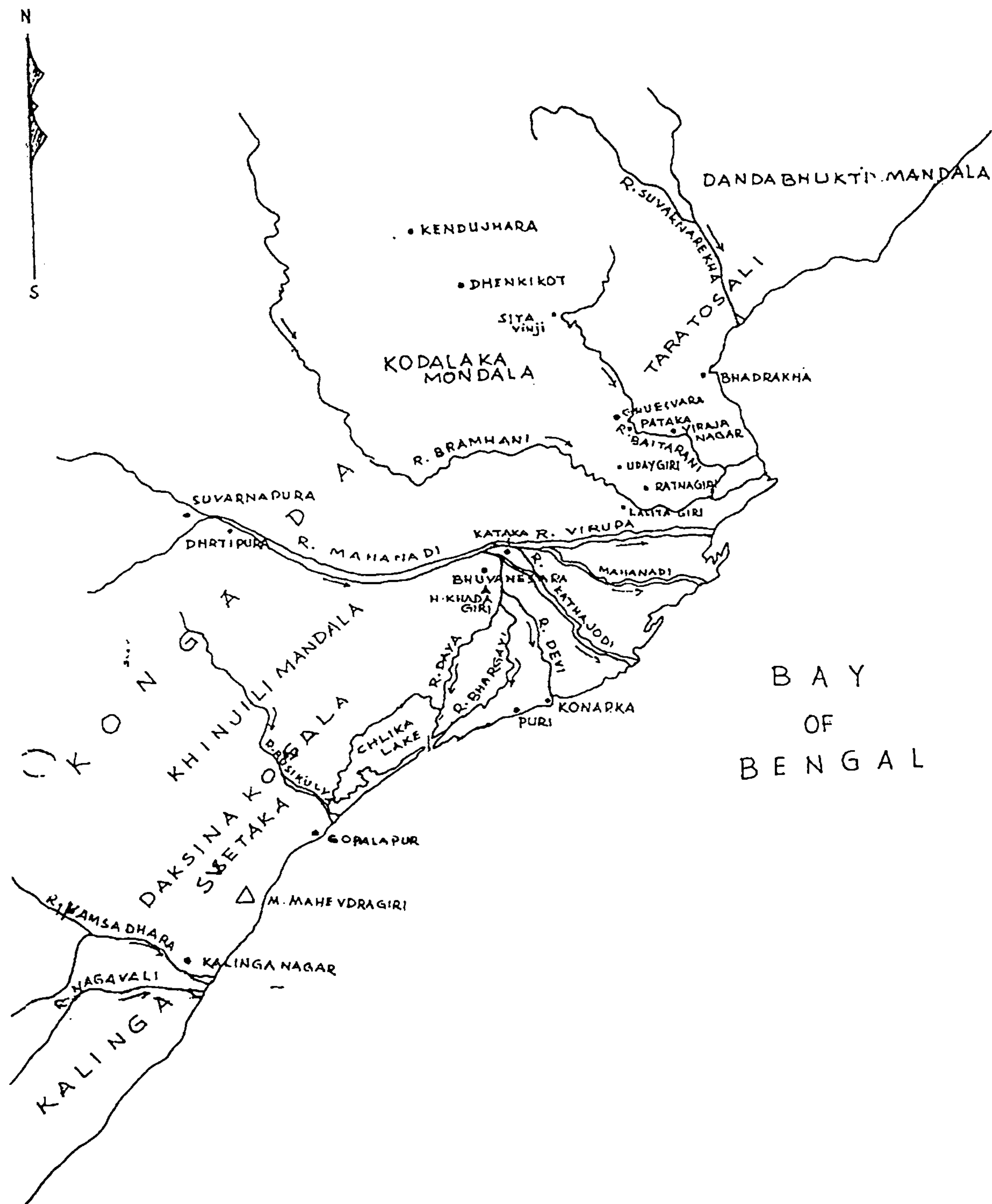
Basing on the said events and epigraphical records, we presume that the present rituals of *Netrotsava* and *Rathotsava* were not performed in *Śrīmandira* as long as the stone images were not changed into wooden images. Most probably, the old system which was followed in the temple of Siṃhācalam under the name of *Rathotsava* by the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga since the 11th century A.D. was introduced in *Śrīmandira* in 13th century A.D. When the *Rathotsava* in that temple was performed, the *Utsava*-images were taken round the village on the temple cart. In the night at about 10 p.m. the deities were taken into the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* (marriage hall) where the wedding of the God with Lakṣmī and Bhūdevī was performed. This festival of Siṃhācalam was performed in the month of *Caitra* (March), but the *Rathotsava* of Puri, which is performed now on the day following the *Netrotsava*, perhaps was being performed before the revision of the system, in the month of *Bhādrapada.* According to Nīlādri-mahodaya, the concluding function of *Rathotsava* is the wedding ceremony of Jagannātha with Mahālakṣmī.

Most probably, in later times the *pandits* of Utkala might have objected to the performance of *Netrotsava* and *Rathotsava* i.e. the wedding ceremony of Śrī - Jagannātha with Lakṣmī, in the month of *Bhādrapada*, i.e. while Viṣṇu was supposed to be sleeping on His bed. Therefore, the last date of *Rathotsava* was fixed on the 11th *tithi* (*Ekādaśī*) of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha*, called, *Deva-śayana Ekādaśī* when it is said in the *śastras*, Viṣṇu sleeps for four months.



MAP OF KOṄGADA & TOṢĀḶI

Scale 1 Inch = 16 Miles



PALAEOGRAPHY

The Chalukyan King Rajaraja's Script of 11th Century A.D

अ	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ए
ऋ	क	ख	ग	घ	च	च
छ	ज	ट	ठ	ड	ण	त
थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब
भ	म	य	र	ल	ळ	व
श	ष	स	ह			

PALAEOGRAPHY

The Kakatiya King Rudradeva's Script of 12th Century A.D

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए

ऋ क ख ग घ च छ

ज ट ड ण त थ द

ध न प फ ब भ म

य र ल व श ष ह

ळ

PALAEOGRAPHY

THE SOUTH INDIAN SCRIPT USED IN ORISSA

12th-13th Cebtury A.D.

अ अ इ इ ए क ख ख

ग च च ज ट ट ठ ड

ड ड ढ ण ण ण त त

त थ द द द ध ध न

प प प प ब ब ब भ

म म य य य र ल ल

व व व श श ष ष स

स स ह ह ह श्री श्री श्र

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

अ	a	क्	k	ढ्	ḍh	य्	y
आ	ā	ख्	kh	ण्	ṇ	र्	r
इ	i	ग्	g	त्	t	ल्	l
ई	ī	घ्	gh	थ्	th	व्	v
उ	u	ङ्	ṅ	द्	d	श्	ś
ऊ	ū	च्	c	ध्	dh	ष्	ṣ
ऋ	ṛ	छ्	ch	न्	n	स्	s
ए	e	ज्	j	प्	p	ह्	h
ऐ	ai	झ	jh	फ्	ph	क्ष्	kṣ
ओ	o	ञ्	ñ	ब्	b	त्र्	tr
औ	au	ट	ṭ	भ्	bh	ज्ञ्	jñ
अं	ṃ	ठ्	ṭh	म्	m		
अः	aḥ	ड्	ḍ				

Common words and modern names are usually written without diacritical marks.

No - 28

MĀRKAṆḌEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

śaka year - 103(0) = 1108 A.D.

Language-Telugu
Script - South Indian
Measurement - 16" x 17"

TEXT

Line

1. स्वस्ति [॥] शकवर्षं बुलु 103[0]
2. [का]र्त्ति[क] महाद्वादशि निमि-
3. त्तमुन दण्डाय-पग्गड(तन)-
4. य(यो)ज्वल नारायणाण्डु तन
5. ताल्लि ताण्ड्रिलवुं पुन्यार्थं
6. संपादन [।] याखण्डव -
7. त्ति दिवियवुं दम कोन्नय[द]
8. समाड[लेक्का] शिवके (?) पंकला
9. गां पुल चन्द्राक्र्क ला[प]
10. गां पुल चंन्द्रकुम्पन(ने)
11. यि दिवि पंगलवारु

NOTES

This inscription is noticeable at the bottom of the left side wall of the inner chamber of Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. The measurement of the inscribed portion is 16½X 17". There are eleven lines engraved in south Indian script and the language is Telugu. It gives the date as *śaka* year 103(0), which may be equal to A.D. 110(8); if the last symbol is taken to be 'zero'[1].

The inscription states that in the *śaka* year 103(0) and in the month of *Kārttika*, on the auspicious day of *Mahādvādaśi*, viz. the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight, the festival day of Viṣṇu's rise from bed (*Devotthāpana*), one Jaḷa Nārāyaṇa, son of Daṇḍāya Paggaḍa, had donated a perpetual lamp to enhance the glory (*puṇya*) of his mother and father at the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara. For maintenance of the lamp, he appointed a '*Konnari*' (shephard) and gave him 10 *māḍas* of coin to supply ghee to feed the said lamp.

The last two lines of the inscription are not distinct; so its meaning is not clear.

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1. If the last symbol is zero and the date is 1108 A.D., then it should be the earliest inscription among all the records discovered in Puri.

No - 29

MĀRKAṆḌEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language - Sanskrit
Script - North Indian
Measurement - 14½" X 8"

TEXT

Line
1. श्रीचोडगङ्गदेवस्य राज्ये.........
2. जयिनः शुद्धषष्ठि शुक्रे दि[ने]
3. माघे पुण्यदी(दि)ने तथा। [मार्क]
4. [ण्डेश्व]रदेवाय दत्तो[ऽ]भी[ष्ट]
5. [फल]प्रदः [॥] प्रमाडिराजवीरेण[a]

NOTES

Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple seems to be the earliest centre of the *Śaivācāryas* in *Śrīkṣetra* or Puri. The *Śaiva* teachers of Coḍagaṅga and his family lived in that ancient temple, which might have been constructed by a Śaiḷodbhava king of Koṅgada-*maṇḍaḷa* in about the 7th or 8th century A.D.

The present inscription states that in *Māgha* and the bright fortnight of 6th *tithi* and in holy Friday, his brother Vīra Pramāḍirāja granted some property to the *Śaivācāryas* in the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara (Śiva).

Pramāḍirāja was a loyal associate of his brother Coḍagaṅga, which fact is known from an inscription of Rellivelasa[1]. He and his son, Coḍagaṅga - II were present in Orissa along with the emperor Coḍagaṅga after the latter captured Utkaḷa and shifted his capital from Kaḷiṅganagara to Vārāṇasīkaṭaka near Mahānadī. We find two inscriptions relating to *dīpadāna* in the Kedāreśvara temple at Bhubaneswar[2]. Coḍagaṅga-II and his father, Pramāḍi's inscriptions in that temple mention the *śaka* year 1067 (1145 A.D.) which Dr. D.C. Sircar reads as '*śaka* 1061' (1139 A.D.)[3].

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a. Pramāḍirāja was the younger brother of Coḍagaṅga. He was the Governor of Kaḷiṅga after Coḍagaṅga had captured Utkaḷa and shifted his capital from Kaḷiṅganagara to Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka.

1. I.O. Vol - III, Pt-I, P. 125
2. Ibid Pp - 195 & 218
3. E.I. Vol - XXX, P. 94

The temple inscriptions of Kedāreśvara and Mārkaṇḍeśvara reveal the names of Pramāḍirāja and his son Coḍagaṅga-II, who visited Utkaḷa after Karṇadeva, a Somavaṃśī king was defeated in 1112 A.D. by Mahārāja Coḍagaṅgadeva. He performed Śivapūjā in the temple of Kīrttivāsa (Liṅgarāja) in 1112 A.D[4]., soon after his victory in the battle against Karṇakeśarī.

In *śakāvda* 1033 (1111-12 A.D.), an inscription of Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam records the panegyric titles of Coḍagaṅgadeva as follows :

"समरमुखानेक-रिपुदर्पमर्द्दन-भुजबलपराक्रम-
परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-नवनवतिसहस्रकुञ्ज-
राधीश्वर-महाराजाधिराज-त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति-
श्रीमदनन्तवर्मदेव-चोडगङ्गदेवर प्रबर्द्धमान-
विजयराज्यसंवत्सर 37 श्राहि....... [5]

The correct date of this inscription is the 25th February, 1112 A.D. Most probably, after Coḍagaṅgadeva's victory in that battle, his glory was enhanced in Kaḷiṅga.

Vīra Pramāḍirāja's donation for an *akhaṇḍa dīpa* (perpetual lamp) in Nīḷakanṭheśvara temple at Bobbili (Āndhra Pradesh) was made in 1116-17 A.D.[6] Perhaps, after the capitulation of Utkaḷa, he was sent to Kaḷiṅga to govern that province staying at Kaḷiṅganagara. Pramāḍideva was residing in the fort of Bobbili for many years and made charities in the temple of Nīḷakanṭheśvara. His second son, Rājendracoḍa also issued two inscriptions in 1129 A.D. and 1131 A.D., in which he mentioned his father, Pramāḍi's title as 'Yulagiyavanda' and that he was the brother of Coḍagaṅgadeva-II. According to one of his inscriptions at Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaḷiṅgam, he was living in 1132 A.D.[7], when Mahārāja Coḍagaṅga's *śrāhi* 58[8] was current.

In the *śrāhi* 56 (1132 A.D.) of Coḍagaṅgadeva, Pramāḍi had granted a lamp at Nīḷakanṭheśvara. His *Mahādevī*, Māṅkammā also presented *akhaṇḍa dīpa* to Madhukeśvara in 1134 A.D.[9]

4. O.H.R.J. Vol - I, No. 2, P-7; I.O., Vol - III, Pt- I, P - 63.
5. Vide : S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 1025; Ins. Or., Vol. III., Pt. I, P. 62.
6. Ins. Or., Vol - III, Pt. i, P. 77.
7. Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. i., P. 149.
8. Ins. Or., Vol - III, Pt. i, P. 152.
9. Vide J.A.H.R.S., Vol. LXXII, Pt. i, P. 105.

In 1135 A.D. Choḍagaṅga-II, son of Permāḍirāja and Mankāmmā, had granted a village as stated in the Vizāgpatam plates as quoted below :

''श्रीमन् पेर्माडिराजः द्विषदवनिभृतां शोणिताम्भः कवोष्णम्
तीव्रो जन्यस्य पातुं समरभुवि भवत्तीक्ष्णकौक्षेयकस्य ।
धारामुल्लंघ्य गन्तुं रिपुनरपतयः के समर्था वद त्वम्
मज्जन्त्यत्रैव तूर्ण्णं रिपुबलविपिन-प्रौढकान्तारवह्नेः ।।[10]

In *śaka* 1075 (1153 A.D.), Coḍagaṅgadeva and his queens, with his brother and brother's wife visited the Bhīmeśvara temple of Drākṣārāma (East Godāvarī district of Āndhra Pradesh). Probably, their visit to that place could be accomplished only after Veṅgi was captured by Coḍagaṅga and merged into his empire that extended upto the river Godāvarī in the south.

Coḍagaṅgadeva and his brother were associated with and appeared in the battles of Utkaḷa and Veṅgi in between 1112 and 1152 A.D., for long 40 years.

10. Ins. Or. Vol. III, Pt. i, P. 176; I.A. Vol. XVIII, P. 172.

No -30′

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(Śaka Year -1041 = 1129 A.D.)

Language - Sanskrit

Script - South Indian

Measurement - 18" X 22"

TEXT

Line

1. श्रीशाका[ब्दे][ऽ] वनिवेदखेन्दु-
2. गणिते कन्यागते भास्करे [।] दी-
3. पं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे(मा)य
4. विशदाव्य(द्द)त्तोरखण्डं सदा [।]
5. गंग[क्षेत्रो]पद्यी[द]सं[शं]प्रदत्त (?)
6. श्रीसुधीगोविन्दनाम्ना...........
7. ....
8. बा[ह्म]णेनालंकारे वरेषु वि-
9. स्व[श्र]विदित:[।] कार्षापणेना
10. कृत: [॥] ....

11.............

(a)12.

NOTES

This inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple was written in north-east Indian script of 13th century. The donor of a lamp was a *śuddhi* (noble) named Govinda, who may be identified with the renowned Buddhist scholar of 1129 A.D., who was the author of a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa (Sanskrit *alaṅkāra*) entitled Kāvya Pradīpa.

Utkala was a reputed centre of Sanskrit *alaṅkāra* during the Gaṅga and Gajapati regime. Some renowned scholars like Viśvanātha Kavirāja and Vidyādhara, the authors of Sāhityadarpaṇa and Ekāvali respectively, lived in the royal courts of the Gajapati kings of Utkala.

Jagannātha Miśra, the author of Kavicintāmaṇi also belonged to Utkala.

No. - 31

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(Śaka Year - 1058 = 1136 A.D.)

Language - South Indian (Telugu)

Script - South Indian

TEXT

Line

1. स्वस्ति [॥] शकवरुषं वुलु 1058 यगुनेण्टि
2. तुला सु[क्ल] 12 गुरुवारमुनाण्डु[b]
3. को ... कु कलिंगविसयमुन गंग्गनाराय[ण]
4. गंग्गनमार्त्तण्डनाराय[ण]
5. आसं(चं)न्द्राक्षञ्ञ ई वेट्टिन अखण्डवर्त्ति दी[वि]
6. [यकु] ,.....काञलु ..... [अ]गुञलु मालाकारिण
7.
8.

NOTES

This inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple records that in the *śaka* year 1058 (1136 A.D.) in the solar month *Tulā* and in the bright fortnight of the 12th *tithi* (day), one Gaṅga Nārāyaṇa of Kaliṅga *Viṣaya* (district), entitled Gaṅgamārtaṇḍa Nārāyaṇa had installed a perpetual lamp to burn with *aguru* (scented *dhūpa*) through the *mālākāra* (of the temple) of Śrī Puruṣottama..........

In *śaka* 1055 (1133 A.D.) the same Gaṅga Nārāyaṇa had granted a lamp in the temple of Madhukeśvara of Kaliṅganagara (Mukhalinga)[1]. He was a minister (*mantrī*) of a prince called Trivikrama Ganga and he was also the chief administrator of the salt depot of Bheṇḍigrāma which was his residence. The village of Bheṇḍi still goes in the same name, in between the S.E. Rly. Stations of Naupada and Palasa, at the southern border of Orissa. Bheṇḍi village has an old salt exporting market.

The titles like Gaṅga Nārāyaṇa, Gaṅga Mārtaṇḍa, Gaṅga Vidyādhara etc., were awarded by the Gaṅga rulers of Kalinga to their efficient officers.

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a. After the 6th line of this inscription, another part of the inscription begins for six lines which is not distinct.

b The grant is probaly made on the auspicious day of *Devotthāpana-dvādaśi*, in the month of *Tulā* or *Kārttika* 12th *tithi* of bright fortnight in Thursday.

1. Vide S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1035,; Ins. Or., Vol-III, Pt. I, P. 163.

No - 32

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION (BROKEN)

Language - Telugu

Script - South Indian

TEXT

Line

1. [श्रीपु]रूषोत्तमनवर............
2. देवरकुवजिन यख[ण्ड]
3. दिवियकु इवको ....
4. बाहुऋलि पद्मन .... नं [मु]द्रा -
5. [म्मु] 9 यसरिंपग्गल [को]रूपुरु -
6. [षो]त्तमेन[a] ॥ माशिका............
7.
8.

NOTES

This is a partly illegible inscription, written in Telugu language, which records that in Śrī-Puruṣōttama *navara* (palace), a perpetual lamp was installed (for which) a Bāhuruli-Padmana[1] was donated with 9 .... coins to Yasariṃ Paggala (at) Puru(ṣo)ttama, per month............

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a. The inscription is a broken piece. But, it states that a devotee had granted a perpetual lamp to burn in *navara* (palace ?) of Śrī-Puruṣottama (god). He also donated a Bahuruli-padmana (a kind of ornament) purchased by paying .... coins and 9 Sari-paggalu (?) for Puruṣottama per month............

1. The word Bāhuruli-Padmana may be either the name of a person or an ornament, used as armlet, designed like a lotus flower.

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Telugu mixed Sanskrit
Script - South Indian

TEXT

Line

1. स्वस्ति [।।]शकवरुषं वुलु 10.... यगुनेंटि क[न्य]-----
2. इयुगुरिंचि श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवरकु आचन्द्रार्क्क........
3. साय[.]कालमुंदुनि दीपरायकु आरसविल्लि श्रीक-
4. र[ण] .... भीमनाथभ्राता श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य
5. ...... कालं कांपुलुनिरूप्या गंगजयगानि...... जयराजनिवं.......
6. [धं] मालाकार..... कापुलुमुट्ट..... वसमुन पट्टन[a]...........
7. का वशत्रालु 100[b]

NOTES

In the *śaka* year 10 (......) and in the month of *Kanyā* (September) ......, for this occasion, the brother of *Śrīkaraṇa*......... Bhīmanātha of Ārsavelli (village), granted a perpetual lamp (*akhaṇḍa dīpa*) to burn in the evening (daily) before Śrī Puruṣottamadeva, till the existence of the Moon and the Sun. This lamp should be maintained by the *kāpu* (servant) of the (temple) of Puruṣottama. The *mālākāra* (garland maker) Jayaraja had to watch this service for which he is paid 100 coins ?

The identification of Bhīmanātha of Ārsavelli is given in a Telugu inscription of the temple of Madhukesvara at Mukhaliṅgam as quoted below :

.... आर्सवेल्लिकायस्थ मेडपनायकुनिकि पोतमनायकुरालिकि
सुपुत्रुंडैन श्रीकरणराजतण्डरि राजविद्याधर-गङ्गवैश्य माराय-
एडइना भीमनाथनि पेट्टिनाय खण्डवर्त्ति दीपमु.....[1]"

Bhīmanātha was the son of an Ārsavelli Kāyastha (*karaṇa*), named Meḍapanāyaka and Pōtamanāyakāṇī. He possessed the titles of Śrī-karaṇa,

a. Read Peṭṭinā (पेट्टिना)

b. Two lines of No.3 inscription is photographed just below this inscription.

1. Vide S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1056; Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. I, P. 158.

Rājataṇḍari, Rājavidyādhara and Gaṅga-Vaiśya. The said inscription is dated as *śaka* year 1054 (=1132 A.D.)

A brother of Bhīmanātha had donated for a perpetual lamp to burn in *śakābda* 1056 (=1134 A.D.) on the occasion of an auspicious *yoga* called *Mahākārttika*(2).

The brother of the same Bhīmanātha granted the present inscription in the month of *Kanyā*, probably in about 1134 A.D. It is interesting to note that Mālākāra Jayarāja's name is also mentioned in it. He is also found in some other epigraphs of the Nṛsiṃha temple, among which one fragmented inscription (No. 44) contains the names of Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, the three deities. The same Mālākāra Jayarāja is also recorded in another epigraph (No.17) of Nṛsiṃha temple, incised in the 5th *aṅka* year of Kāmārṇavadeva (son of Coḍagaṅgadeva), which corresponds to 1149 A.D. Therefore it is concluded that, all the three deities (Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā) were installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple during the first half of the 12th century A.D.

It is an interesting fact that Bhīmanātha (1133 A.D.) had granted a perpetual lamp in the temple of Gokarṇeśvara at the summit of the Mahendra mountain in *śakābda* 1055 (1133 A.D.)(3).

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2. I.O. Vol. III, Pt. i, P. 167 . The *Mahākarttika-yoga* will occur when there is a combination of the bright half of *Kārttika* + *Ekādaśi* (*Bṛhadina*) + Sunday + *Rohiṇī Nakṣatra*.
3. Vide S.I.I., Vol -`V, No. 1350; Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. ii, P. 159 ff.

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language - Oriya
Script - North Indian
Measurement - 14" X 9"

TEXT

Line

1. [ओं] स्वस्ति [॥] श्री[चो]डगङ्गदेव[स्य] प्रवर्द्ध-
2. मान विजय [4]3[a] । आनन्द -
3. संवत्सर:(रे) वैशाखमाष(स) -
4. [सुद्ध] 10 [ब्राह्म]ण:(ण)भोज[नं]
5. गा[ङ्ग] देवे[न] [इति] ॥

NOTES

This inscription states that in the (4)3rd regnal year of Coḍagaṅgadeva and in the cyclic year (*Vārhaspatya māna*) *Ānanda Samvatsara* on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* (April-May), a *brāhmaṇa-bhojana* (free feeding of *Brāhmaṇas*) was organised.

Although it is not clear about the person who was the donor, we presume that the king Coḍagaṅga himself had proclaimed this to continue the feeding of Brāhmaṇas every year on that auspicious day of *Vaiśākha* in the temple of Puruṣottama. That practice of free feeding to *Brāhmanas* in that *puṇya-tithi* (*daśamī*) in the month of *Vaiśākha*, is performed by the Hindus, who observe the sacred *vrata* of *Vaiśākha*.

The food stuff for free feeding must have been offered to Śrī Puruṣottama before it was served to the *Brāhmaṇas* in the temple premises.

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a. It is probably the regnal year of Anangabhima, son of Coḍagaṅgadeva. The cyclic year is *Ānanda* of the *Vārhaspatya* system.

No - 35

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Sanskrit

Script - North Indian

Measurement - 11" X 11"

TEXT

Line

1. [श्रीम]च्चालुक्याव [०] स (श) प्रसू [त] ....
2. .... श्रीपुरुसो(षो)त(त्त)माय सति ॥ त.......
3. ....दत्त्वार्थक[०] भक्तयो मण्डन(ना)त्कृ[त्य] ....
4. ......र्वासु[देव] श्रीपादा[म्बुज]नत
5. ..... [त्त्रि]स[मा].... सामंत[a] ॥
6. ....
7. ....पेड(द)नग्रामसम्बन्धि ...
8. .... चालुक्यान्वयक्ष्या(ख्या)[b][त]

NOTES

This inscription of Nṛsiṃha temple is a damaged document. Only a few parts of it may be translated as follows :

"Produced by a *sāmanta* of the Chālukya family...................... to Puruṣottama......... the devotees, made decoration.......... after giving at the feet of *Śrī-pāda*............ the *sāmanta*......... connected (Pe)dana village......... given to the Chālukyas......" (ll)

We may get a faint idea from this inscription suggesting that 'Vyāghra-kūṭa' was the name of a fort, not yet identified. Some *bhaktas* (devotees) of that place used to worship a handsome and decorated *Śrī-paṭṭi* (*paṭa* paint) of Śrī Puruṣottama which was later removed to a village by a *sāmanta* (prince) of Chālukya dynasty.

This may be taken as a plausible interpretation of the record; but we get nothing more about any charity made in favour of Śrī Puruṣottama due to missing portions of the epigraph.

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a. These two lines may also be read as follows.

4. विसृ[ज्य] श्रीपट्टिञ्च [अ]नृ[मृ]त
5. [सु]समा ...... स[द] सामन्त........

b. The inscription is badly damaged. The reading is not free from doubt.

MĀRKAṆḌEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Sanskrit (Verse)
Script - South Indian
Measurement - 16" X 7½"

TEXT

Line

1. - व (श्च) न्द्र दिवाकरं रविगत: क-
2. र्कोटके सप्तमि(मी)[।]मार्कण्डेश्वर-
3. देवपादपुरतो नक्तस्सदा
4. नन्दित[a]: [॥]

NOTES

This inscription of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple states that on a Sunday, when the solar month *Karkaṭa* would start in the seventh *tithi* of the said lunar month, (that day would form a *yoga*)[1] for the worship of Siva, and that it should be performed in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple.

---

a. The inscription is written in the 'Śārdūlavikrīḍita *Chanda'.* The last two *pādas* of the verse are not given (Chandomañjarī, P. 100)

1. The auspicious *Karkaṭa Saṅkrānti* - the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of *Āṣāḍha* - *Ravivāra* (Sunday) was probably an auspicious day for devotion at the feet of Mārkaṇḍeśvara (Śiva) in Puri.
We find no auspicious occasion of Lord Puruṣōttama in the 7th *tithi* of *Kārkoṭaka.* Therefore, it requires more study to find out if there was any *'yoga'* for Śiva worship on that day.

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Sanskrit
Script - North Indian

TEXT

Line

1. शु(सु?)मतराविषयेषु प्रदाता श(शा)क्यावनीषु म्या(मा)हकयगु-
2. व्वा(र्व्वा)माङ्कता प्रवाहाकम - (?) शाकवनश्री व्राम्म(ह्म)[ण]
3. पुरुक - - निवि काश्य[प]गोत्राय
4. ख्यात वीरका(क)र्मसूरि[a] श्री पुरुषोत्तम
5. देवाय [म]ल्ल(ल्लि)मालदीप - श्रीपुरुषोत्तम-
6. [प्रीत्यर्थे]- - - - सवंश: श्रीयुत
7. आशा - - - -[b]

NOTES

This inscription of the Nṛsiṁha Temple states that in Sumatarā *viṣaya* (district) of Sākyavani[1], a *guru* (teacher) of *Sākyāvanī Brāhmaṇa* who belonged to Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, named Vīra Kārmasuri (or Vīra-Bāmasūri), presented a garland made of jasmine flower (*malli-mālā*) together with a lamp to Śrī Puruṣottama for his pleasure........ Let our dynasty enjoy the good prosperity.

---

a. Perhaps the name is Vīra-Kāmasūri (वीरकामसूरि or वीरवर्मसूरि)

b. The inscription is badly engraved. Some letters are not in readable condition.

1. The *Śāka-dvīpa Brāhmaṇas* are living in the coastal districts of Orissa. Their main profession is the study of almanac basing on astronomy and astrology. They are also known as *Rasa Vaidya* (*kavirāja*) in *āyurveda* (medical science). The tradition goes that they migrated from '*Śāka-dvīpa*' (Indonesia or the islands of Indian Ocean). Our present inscription clearly states that those islands were called '*Śākavaṇī*' (land of the *Śākas*). This epigraph, therefore, reveals that the *Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇas* were also called *guru* (teacher). They were experts in various subjects namely, *āyurveda* (medical science), *gaṇita* (mathematics), *jyotiṣa*, (astronomy). More details about this are given in Part II below.

No - 38

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Sanskrit

Script - North Indian

TEXT

Line

1. श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवाराधनाय यावन्त(त्त)स्य पदास्र(श्र)यते यस(श)सा - -
2. तत्कृत गृहम(मा)ल: दीपा[ऽ]त्र कामदेवेन भीमनाथस्य[a] कारित[म्] [।।] दीप[म्]
3. पुरुषोत्तमसुद्ध्याय सिद्धतोय कनकमुखत्री(त्रि)गुनमालाकार-
4. स्य वद: - - - - समापण[b] कापुडा[c] दास्याध्या ।। प्रदीपोऽयं प्रवर्त्तितं(:) ।।

NOTES

This inscription of Nṛsiṃha temple states that so long as one would worship and take shelter at the feet of Lord Śrī Puruṣottama, (and) for his glorious service......, Kāmadeva had endowed a perpetual lamp to burn in favour of Lord Puruṣottama whose house (*gṛha*) was under the supervision of Bhīmanātha, the *mālākara* and the maker of a golden face (*kanaka-mukha*) ornament that was attached with a trinket chain (*tiguṇi*) and also showing purity of the deity by washing with *siddha-toya* (cleaned water) ..... presented *kāpuḍā* (and) lamp.

Bhīmanātha was an important *sevaka* (servant) who was designated *'Śrī-karaṇa'* of the temple where Śrī Puruṣottama was installed.

This was the occasion when the deities (Puruṣottama) were washed by pure water (*siddha-jala*) and cleaned, and then adorned with garments and golden ornaments. At present the painted wooden images are also washed by pure water on the day of Snāna-pūrnimā in the full moon day of *Jyeṣṭha* (May-June), after which date the deities are placed in a closed compartment, called *anavasara-gṛha.* But, the stone images were not necessarily put in a secluded place for 15 days to appear again for painting of their eyes. The festival of painting the eyes of the deities is now called *Netrotsava* and is held on another day.

In consideration of the fact that, as in 12th century, the stone images were installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple there was no need of putting them in a separate chamber for 15 days and also of re-painting their obliterated eyes after they were brought out. Therefore in this inscription, we find that immediately after the deities were washed, they were adorned with garments and golden jewels.

---

a. Bhīmanātha's name is found in another inscription of the same temple. He belongs to Ārsavelli village near Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. He was a *Śiṣṭa-karaṇa* by caste.

b. Read *'Samarpaṇa'* (समर्पण).

c. *'Kāpuḍā'* is an old Oriya word for a piece of cloth.

No - 39

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Sanskrit
Script - North Indian
Measurement - 6" X 10"

TEXT

Line
1[a]. --- [धा]मा अखण्डदीपो[ज्वलं]
2. --- [स्वा]र्ण्णमाड पञ्च गड्ड[शस्य]
3. ---- षतां[षष्ठ] अडा ठं
4. [भ]द्रा - - - वि - - कविता - - -
5. - - - - गतां मि - - - -[b]

NOTES

This is a damaged inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple in the complex of Śrī Jagannātha temple. But it states that, a perpetual lamp was granted, to meet the cost of which five *suvarṇa-māḍas* (gold coins) were donated. From this it is known that the amount of interest from the 5 gold *māḍas* was a sumptuary amount for purchase of the required quantity of oil to feed a perpetual lamp. This is also supported from the following passage, quoted from an inscription of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubaneswar :

"........गन्धवणग्रामनिवासिभि: गृहीतसुवर्णिक-पञ्चमाढ़ानां
कलन्तरे तैलत्रिंशतकुंचकम् ......"[1]

---

a. The Inscription is badly damaged.

b. Just under this inscription, there is an unreadable Telugu record, containing five lines.

1. Vide Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. i, P. 169.

No - 40

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language - Sanskrit

Script - North Indian

TEXT

Line

1. - - - - अतिगोण्डि पुत्र सुधि वीरश्री उपे -
2. द्रश्री - - शगंग वालवेल्ला[ल][म]ण्डल श्रीचोडगंग -
3. स्याङ्के - - - - दाताञ्ज - - - श्रीकरण
4. [भीमनाथ] देवदेवपुरुषोत्तमे दत्ता(त्त)प्रदीप [:]
5. सु - - - -[a]

NOTES

This damaged inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple reveals the name of one....... Atigoṇḍi's son *sudhi* (noble) Vīra Śrī- Upendra, who possessed the title of .... 'Śa Gaṅga Bāla-bellā(la) [ma]ṇḍala....' in the..... *aṅka* year of Coḍaganga. [Bhīmanātha ?] (endowed) a lamp to Devadeva Puruṣottama.....

---

a. The inscription is damaged.

MĀRKAṆḌEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(LEFT SIDE WALL)

Language-Sanskrit
Script - South Indian
Measurement - 14" X 12½"

TEXT

Line

1. [a]य्या पुरा[णा] द्विजकुल-
2. तिलकं भूपालकं यस्याग्रसू-
3. नु: मार्कण्डेशाय पूर्या नत-
4. मति[प्र]चण्डं । यस्याधिकारि(री) स्वल्पा(ल्पो)[ऽपि]
5. त्यागकृत[क]ल्प:[।] प्रदत्ताखण्डं कलि-
6. कलुषभिदो दीपमाचन्द्रतारं ॥
7. काकटपुरं(र)वासि(सी)
8. - - सि(शि)वदाससुत[:]
9. - - चतु:कल्पस्था[यी] [॥]

NOTES

This inscription of the Mārkanḍeśvara temple states that, he who was the son of the important chief of a powerful king and a *Brāhmaṇa* as well being engaged in reciting 'Purāṇa', who inspite of enjoying no riches, but could sacrifice immensely, called Śivadāsa, was a resident of Kākaṭapura. His son, installed a perpetual lamp to burn before (the god) Mārkaṇḍeśvara, which should sustain till the existance of the Sun and the Moon.

The village Kākaṭapur, in Puri District, is a famous place where the goddess Maṅgalā is installed. The same goddess has close contact with Lord Jagannātha. From the temple of Maṅgalā, the party, which is appointed to search the sacred logs during the *Navakalevara* ceremony, have to start their journy with permission of the goddess Maṅgalā of Kākaṭapur.

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a. The inscription begins with a verse containing four *pādas* of two different *chandas*, i.e., *Asambādhā* of 14 alphabets in the 1st *pāda*, *Subadanā* of 20 alphabets in the 2nd *pāda*, and the 3rd and 4th *pādas* are equal to the 1st and 2nd. Most probably, the verse is composed in *Āryā-vṛtta*. The meter of the first verse is not correct.

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
(FIXED ON THE FRONT PART OF THE TOP)

Language - Sanskrit
Script - North Indian
Measurement - 9.8" x 8.1"

TEXT

Line
1. [श्रेआ]स्य यस्य
2. ....पम: समरे......
3. द्ध्वस्ता नृप.......
4. राजराज[a] [अ]
5. नुजोत्तम:
6. ....[b]

NOTES

This inscription of the Nṛsiṃha Temple contains six lines of which the sixth line and a large portion of the other five lines are missing due to damage of the inscribed slab. It is also evident that the inscribed and broken slabs were fixed in the temple wall irregularly, for which reason another inscribed stone (No. 43) was fixed under it in upside down position.

From the present inscription we get the name of king Rājarāja, who was engaged in war and his good younger brother (*anujottama*). We may identify Rājarāja with the third son of Coḍagaṅgadeva. He succeeded his brother Rāghavadeva in 1170-71 A.D. and ruled upto 1192-93 A.D. According to the Megheśvara temple inscription, he being old, handed over his rein of administration to his younger brother Aniyaṅkabhīma-II

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a. "Rājarāja"............. 'the loyal brother' is written in the 4th and 5th lines of this broken inscription. Rājarāja, son of Coḍagaṅga, ruled from 1170 to 1193 A.D., after Rāghavadeva.

b. Another inscription at the top measuring 13.5" X 3.5" is found in another slab which was fixed in upside down position of the above inscription. It proves that at the time of repair of the temple, the inscribed stones were irregularly fixed in the wall.
The inscription is noted below :
1..... च पुरुषोत्तम: [आ] लय
2.[क]रमकारकुलपुत्र पल्ल पञ्च वि-
3. ड्शतिघटिकातैलेव मा[ल्यै]
(Please see No - 43)

"सर्व्वं नरेन्द्रतिलकः कलिकालकल्पः
शाखी सुखौघमनुभूय चिरं स राजा ।
वृद्धोऽनुजं मनुजराजनतांघ्रियुग्मं
राज्येऽभिषिक्तमकरोदनियङ्कभीमः ॥[1]

Rājarāja and his wife Suramā, were compared with Puruṣottạma and Ramā (Lakṣmī) respectively. They devoted the rest of their lives in religious affairs. They both made great expensive charities like *Tulā-puruṣa-dāna* (giving gold to *Brāhmaṇas* equal in weight of the king and his queen). He (Rājarāja) might have granted some valuable charities in favour of Śrī Puruṣottama as recorded in this broken inscription. The author of this *praśasti* is *kavi* Udayana.[2]

The other inscription, fixed under it in upside down position, is the same as No. 16 below.

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1. Vide J.A.S.B., Vol. IV, P. 89 ff; Ins. Or., vol. III, Pt. ii, P. 334.
2. *Kavi* Udayana is also the author of the *praśaṣti* of Sobhaneśvara Inscription of Śrī-Vidyānātha. (Vide J.B.R.S., Vol. XVII, P. 401., Ed. by Sudhakara Patnaik; Ins. Or. Vol.III, Pt. ii, P. 336-347.

No - 43

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Languages - Sanskrit mixed Oriya

Script - North Indian

Measurement - 15" X 3"

TEXT

Line

1. [a][कृतनव]पुरू(रू)षोत्तम:(म)नी(नि)लयस्य
2. करमकार कुलपुत्र पल्ल पञ्चवी(विं)
3. [शा]व्रि(वृ)द्धिघटिकातैलेन माष(सं) प्रति [b]
4. सप्तति पुटीधान्यव्यय इति म-
5. .... [त] माय श्री ॥

NOTES

This broken inscription of Nṛsiṃha Temple contains only five lines. Some letters in the last two lines and the beginning of the first line, are missing. This inscription gives an important information regarding the construction of the great new temple of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha at Puri. It states that a *kula-putra,* son of the *'karmakāra'* caste or *'śilpī'* (named) Palla was employed for the construction of new *nilaya* (house or temple) of Puruṣottama. He granted oil, containing twentyfive big pots, to burn the lamp every month........ and seventy *puṭis* of paddy........

As the last two lines are partly missing in the inscription, the purpose of the grant is not clear.

The expression "नवपुरुषोत्तमनिलयस्य करमकार-कुलपुत्र -पल्ल.........." (Nava-Puruṣottama- Nilayasya Karamakāra-kulaputra-palla) indicates that one Palla, who

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a. The inscription is broken. Below it there is another broken inscribed slab, attached to the wall in upside down position which indicates that at the time of repair of the temple, the mason did not care to put the broken slabs in original position.

b. In the inscription No. 42 above, the Karamakāra-Kulaputra Palla, repeats his name perhaps to correct the wrong passage in lines 2 and 3.

was a *Kuḷaputra* of *Karamakāra (karmakāra)* caste had built the *Nava-Nilaya* (New temple) of Puruṣottama (the god). He was the architect of the great temple of Lord Puruṣottama. He seems to be the chief architect of that great temple and to have belonged to the *Viśvakarman* caste[1]. He was employed in that great work because he was the *'kula-putra'* (belonging to the pure caste of *Viśvakarman*).

Unfortunately, the date of the record is not known. But, from palaeographical considerations, it belongs to the 12th century A.D. The architect Palla's homeland and spoken language are also not known. But, the language used in this inscription is Sanskrit and the script belongs to north-east Indian *Kuṭila* type. Therefore, we may not identify him as a South Indian architect, although the meaning of the word 'Palla' in Telugu denotes 'Red' or 'Reddish'[2]. However, we may accept him as an architect of Kaliṅga, where his forefathers lived under the support of the early Gaṅga kings, who constructed the *'Rekha'* type Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam. If Palla was a resident of south India, then the great Jagannātha temple might have been built in the Chalukyan style or at least with a grand *'Gopuram'* at its front. But, in absence of any such sculptural design in the temples of Puri, we believe that Palla was a resident of Kalinga or Utkala, who adopted the *'Pancaratha Rekha'* style for the Śrī Puruṣottama temple at Puri. The architect must have prepared a model drawing of the temple for approval by the king and the *paṇḍits*, before starting the work which was a custom of the ancient period.

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1. According to Monier William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, the *Karmakāra* caste was produced by the divine architect *Viśvakarmā* from a *śūdra* woman.

2. Vide Sankar Narayaṇa's The Telugu-English Dictionary.

No. - 44

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(IN THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE FRONT WALL)

Language - Sanskrit

Script - North Indian

Measurement - 12 " x 18"

TEXT

Line

1. [a]- वि सकल......... सयिन....
2. - भारद्वाजगोत्रे[द्भवम्]
3. - - - - - - येषां -------
4. परमब्राह्मण्यपुत्र आ - - - - -
5. ------ श्रीपुरुषोत्तम बलभद्र - - - - - -
6. [सु]भद्राष्टमाल्या[र्चनार्थं]
7. - - य: मालाकार-जयराज(जे)[b]
8. न यथा प्रदत्त(त्ता)र्द्धनिष्क[म्]
9. - - त[स्यैव] सर्व्वकाले

NOTES

This inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple is an important record; although some portions of it are not legible. The inscription states that the donor was the son of one *Parama Brāhmaṇya* and belonged to Bharadvāja-*gōtra*. He granted (some flower garlands) in favour of Śrī Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, by appointing the *mālākāra* Jayarāja, whose name is recorded in an other inscription of the same temple (See Nos. 17).

In inscription No. 17 of the Nṛsiṃha temple (southern wall), the name of *Mālākāra Śreṣṭhi* Jayarāja is mentioned. The grant of that epigraph was made by

a. The inscription is broken and the letters are obliterated in some parts of the slab.

b. Another inscription of the Mālākara Jayarāja is published in Vol. I, No.17. That inscription mentions the regnal year 5 of the king Kāmārṇvadeva, which corresponds to A.D. 1150-51, when the trinity was installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple.

1. Vide Ins. Or., Vol III, Pt. ii, Appx-II-D.

one Sūropōtu of Bhāradvāja *gōtra* in the 5th regnal year of Kāmārṇavadeva (1147-1158 A.D.) i.e. 1149-50 A.D.[1]

The Mālākāra Jayarāja (*śreṣṭhī* or merchant) was living in the middle of the 12th century, when all the three deities, Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were worshipped in the Nṛsiṃha temple. Another clue that we get from the inscription No. 7 is that, one Bhīmanātha's brother had granted a perputual lamp in favour of Śrī-Puruṣottama in the Nṛsiṃha temple when the said Mālākāra Jayarāja was present. Even though the date of that inscription is missing in the Nṛsiṃha temple, a similar votive inscription of the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam states that the Śrīkaraṇa Bhīmanātha's brother had made a grant in the *śaka* year 1056 (1134 A.D.)[2].

It seems that Bhīmanātha's father was a *karaṇa* of Ārṣavelli village, while Bhīmanātha was appointed as *Śrī-karaṇa* in the Nṛsiṃha temple. His brother was parhaps doing the similar service in the Madhukeśvara temple in 1134 A.D. Therefore, his presence in Puruṣottama-kṣetra in 1149-50 A.D. was possible when the *Mālākāra-Śreṣṭhī* - Jayarāja was living in Puri.

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2. Vide S.I.I., Vol.V, No. 1056; Ins. Or., Vol. III, Pt. ii, P. 267.

No - 45

NṚSIMHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language - Sanskrit

Script - North Indian

Measurement - 14" X 17"

TEXT

Line

1. [a]- - भद्राष्टम्यर्थं [वि]म्ब-
2. [द्व]यं मालाकार जयराज
3. - - द्राभ्यां दत्तं द्रव्य निस्क(ष्क) -
4. द्वयं तथैव सर्व्वकाले[षु]
5. ------ व्या ------
6. - - - - - - - - - - - -
7. - - - - - - - - - - - - -
8. [b][स्तैर्नन्दशास्त्री] र्व्विरव(श्व)देवाय [।।]

NOTES

This is an incomplete scribbled inscription which states that in '........ *Bhadrāṣṭami*', two flower garlands were offered to the god by the Mālākāra Jayarāja, whose name is mentioned in the previous inscription (No.44). In the notes of that epigraph, a detailed account regarding the time of the *mālākāra* is given, which need not be repeated, except that he lived in the 5th *śrāhi* of Kāmārṇavadeva, corresponding to 1149-50 A.D.

This inscription mentions that the grant was made in *Bhadrāṣṭami,* which is an auspicious *yoga* as quoted hereunder from Gadadhara Rajaguru's Kālasāra.[1]

---

a. The inscription is fragmented.

b. It may also read 'स्तेनध्या[यी]'

1. Kālasāra. P. 466.

''शतानन्दसंग्रहे -भद्राष्टमीपौषे मासि यदा विप्र शुक्लाष्टम्यां बुधो भवेत्।
तस्यां तस्यां महापुण्या अहो भद्रेति कीर्त्तिता ॥
तस्यां दानं तथा स्नानं तर्पणं द्विजभोजनं ।
मत्प्रीतये कृतं देवि दशसाहस्त्रिकं भवेत् ॥

In the Kāladīpa, mention is made that the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Pauṣa*, falls a sacred *Snāna-yōga* called *Bhadrāṣṭamī*:

''पौषशुक्लाष्टम्यां बुधवारयोगे भद्राष्टमीस्नानयोग:
पूर्वमुक्त: ।(2)

On that auspicious day, the *mālākāra* Jayarāja had donated two *bimbas* or images made of gold (3) in the temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama. The word *bimba* denotes a reflexed silver disc which was used as mirror in the ancient age.

2. Kāladīpa., P. 143.

PĀTĀLEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(LEFT SIDE WALL)

(Śaka-1188 (= 1266 A.D.)

Language - Sanskrit and Telugu

Script - South Indian

Measurement - 24" X 18"

TEXT

Line

1. स्वस्ति [।।] समधिगतनिर्मलमत्स(त्स्य)-
2. कुलतिलक मुकुंदगिरिनायकस्य
3. ....नारंग्गमहारि(ऋ)ष्याश्रय क(का)स्य(श्य) -
4. पगोत्र [।।] [त]म्बु(नु)ज सत्यमार्त्तण्ड[a] रणरंग्ग-
5. शरणागत - वज्रपंजरूलु
6. शकवरुषं वुलु 118[8] यगुनिंटि
7. भाद्रव(प)द वृहस्पतिवारमुन श्रीपुरूषोत्तमदेवर[चि]
8. त्रलोचनयुत्सवमुलु कोल्व श्रीपाद[न]
9. ....दान[म] .... रूप्य 9 निरूपणों
10. .... वीमु 10
11. - - - --------

NOTES

This inscription is engraved in the Pātāleśvara temple at the left side wall just under two fish figures which indicate that the donor belonged to the Matsya dynasty of Oḍḍādi. The inscription says: Hail; the Lord of Mukundagiri, the king

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a. The donor Satyamārtaṇḍa of Matsya dynasty was a king of Oḍḍādi, located in the Koraput district at Madagol ex-Zamindari of Orissa. The kings of that dynasty had relationship with the Gaṅgas of Orissa.

Satyamārtaṇḍa of pure Matsya-kula.... (and) born by the grace of a great saint *(Maharṣi)* Nāraṅga who was the vital protector like a thunderbolt of the race and to those who took shelter under him. A king of that dynasty had granted 9 *rūpyas* (silver)....... rice 10 .... to Śrī-Puruṣottamadeva for his "*Locana-Utsavaṃ*" (eye - paint ceremony[1]. The grant was made in the *śaka* year 118(8) (=1266 A.D.) and in the month of *Bhādrapada* and Thursday.

The Matsya kings of Oḍḍādi had matrimonial relationship with the Gaṅga kings of Utkala. A Matsya king named Satyamārtaṇḍa was the first king of Kadambagiri, located near Madgole, near Jayapur of Koraput district. At present, that old estate of the Matsyas is merged in Visakhapatna District of Andhra Padesh.

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1. The *locana-utsava* is identified with the festival called "*Netrotsava*" of Śrī Puruṣottama-kṣetra, which is now performed just a day before the great "*Ratha-yātrā*" (i.e. the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha). Therefore, we presume that the *locana-utsava* of Puruṣottama in *Bhādrapada* may be the painting of the deities in every Thursday which service is continued upto the present day. But, it is not a festival (*utsava*). Therefore, it requires more analytical studies if the *Netrotsava* (painting ceremony) of the deities of Śrī Jagannātha temple, was performed in the month of *Bhādrapada* instead of *Āṣāḍha* just before *Śrī Guṇḍica yātrā.*

No - 47

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOP OF THE INNER WALL OF ŚRĪ JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE WESTERN GATE.

Language - Hindusthani (Punjabi)

Script - Devanagari (Punjabi)

TEXT

Line

1. श्रीरामजी
2. सम्वत 1898 मा-
3. फीक सन प 1258 मे
4. दरवाजा पछीममही -
5. ल श्रीजगन्नाथशा(स्वा) -
6. मीका महाराजे रन-
7. जीतशं(सिं)धवाहादूरका
8. लीलाहौरकेने मारफ-
9. त गणेशरामजी सीरप -
10. णेहीत अपनेके वनवा -
11. आ ॥ राम -
12. वीदोल सिङ्ग ए तिआरि

(The Last Line is in Oriya Script)

NOTES

The inscription was incised at the top of the inner side of the western gate of the temple of Śrī Jagannātha. The language of the inscription is Hindi except a line in Oriya, added at the bottom. This inscription states that the Mahārājā Raṇajit-sing Bāhādūr (of Punjab) had ordered to construct a section (*mahal*) at the western gate of Śrī Jagannātha (temple). After his death, the work was entrusted to one Gaṇeśarāmajī, on behalf of the (late) Mahārājā in *saṃvat* 1898, which corresponds to *sana* 1258.

The Oriya script in the last line states "It is made by Bīdolsing". Mahārājā Raṇajit Sing of Punjab, who belonged to Śikha-*saṃpradāya*, was greatly devoted to Śrī Jagannātha. The Maṅgu Maṭha, near *Śrī-mandira*, belongs to Śikha *Saṃpradāya*, just like the Emār Maṭha to Rāmānuja *Saṃpradāya* and the Rādhākānta Maṭha to Gauḍīya *Saṃpradāya* etc. Each of these *maṭhas* of Puri was under a *Mahanta* or *guru* (teacher), who propagates the philosophy of the respective *Sampradāya*. But, they all are entangled to a common cult of Lord Jagannātha. Although those *Sampradāyas* differ in their religious practie, they form a single unity at the feet of Śrī Jagannātha, whom they regard as the supreme lord of the universe. Therefore, Mahārājā Raṇajit Sing has offered his humble contribution as revealed from this inscription and other records. Dr. M.P. Das, states that he "donated a huge amount of money for the construction of a gate for the temple of Lord Jagannath; but when the gate was not constructed until 10th September, 1840, an application was made by one Ganesh Misra of Puri requesting the Commissioner, Orissa Division, Cuttack to instruct the Raja of Puri for necessary help for the above work".(1) Dr. M.P. Das quotes the gist from a letter from the Political Agent to the Governor General that Raja Ranajit Sing passed away on 27th June 1839. During the few last days of his illness "His highness wished to have bestowed in charity many jewels and other property to the supposed value of fifty lakhs of Rupees. Among his jewels he desired the well-known *Kohi-noor* diamond to be sent to the temple of Lord Jagannātha. He observed that none carried away with him his mortal wealth and that such a bequest would perpetuate his name".(2)

1. Dr. M.P. Das, "Temple of Jagannath in the Eyes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab -", published at Bhubaneswar, Studies in the cult of Jagannatha, 1991, P. 218.

2. Ibid, P. 218.

No - 48

THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION ATTACHED IN A SMALL MODEL OF SRI JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE COMPLEX TO THE WESTERN PART.

Language-Sanskrit Verse

Script - Bengali and Oriya, the contained same text, in seven lines each.

TEXT

Line

1. अद्वैतवंशप्रभवाद्वैत-
2. गोस्वामिसेवक: । मत्‌पिता
3. ललितादासो व्रजधाम समा-
4. सदत् ।। हरीशानन्दशर्मणि
5. मू(मु)क्त: गोस्वामिनन्दन: ।। समा -
6. श्रित्या[ऽ]भवत् पूत: शिवदासो
7. नराधम:[(a)] ।। स्न 1287[(b)] श्री [।।]

NOTES

The inscription is incised on a smooth black chlorite stone fixed on a mini-model of Jagannātha temple, which is about five feet in height and placed in the western side of the Śrīmandira complex. The inscription is written in Bengali and Oriya scripts, each containing seven lines. The content is written in two Sanskrit verses in both the scripts.

The first verse states :

"I, born in the *Advaita* family (*Vaidika Brāhmaṇa* family), followed the philosophy of *Advaita* (propagated by Śaṅkara) but served under "*Dvaita Gosvāmī*" i.e. the *Mahanta* who followed the *Dvaita* philosophy (dualism) of Vaiṣṇavism. My father, Lalitādāsa, took shelter in Vrajadhāma. (Vṛndāvana)

The second verse states that Sivadāsa, the worst one, and Harīśananda Śarmā's son, had become pure after taking shelter under the *Gosvāmī* (*guru*).

Most probably, that *Mahanta* (*Gosvāmī*) was either of Radhākānta Maṭha or Baḍa Oḍiyā Maṭha of Puri, who was referred to in this epighrph of A.D. 1687.

a. The same text is repeated in Oriya script in 7 lines. So, the total number of lines is 14.

b. The *Hizra-samvat* may be counted in Orissa by adding 539 years in the given number to get the equal date of the Christian era 1880.

"The disciples of Rāmānuja and Mādhava" says P.V. Kane[1], "have many Maṭhas of their own. According to him, Vallabhācārya, who wrote a commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras, had many disciples who condemned the *Sannyāsa-dharma* in the *Kali* age. Vallabhācārya lived in about the end of the 15th century or beginning of the 16th century. He was a *gṛhī-Vaiṣṇava*"[2]. From the palmleaf of an unpublished Oriya manuscript, discovered from Andhra Pradesh, we find that his successors lived for more than six generations in a *maṭha* at Śrī Puruṣottama-*kṣetra* (Puri). In the same manuscript we also get the name of "Baḍa Oḍiyā Maṭha" of Puri, which is familiar as the seat of Atibaḍi Jagannātha Dāsa, the author of Oriya Bhāgavata Purāṇa and a contemporary of Śrī Caitanya. This was the time when Bengali language was introduced in some *Bhakti* literature in Orissa by the Gauḍiya *Vaiṣṇavas* who belonged to the Caitanya school (1510 A.D.)[3]

It is stated that Caitanya married the daughter of Vallabhācārya. Her name was Lakṣmīdevī. She died in early age[4]. So, Caitanya married Viṣṇupriyā who became his second wife.

The present inscription might have been incised by a descendant of Vallabhācārya's disciple who was a *gṛhī-Vaiṣṇava* and lived in the 16th century. The difference between the approximate time of Vallabhācārya and the present epigraph of 1687 A.D. is less than a century and half within which period six generations might have passed at the Baḍa Oḍiyā Maṭha of Puri. Of course, our assumption regarding the inscription linked with the *Gosvāmin maṭhas* (the Rādhākanta Maṭha or the Baḍa Oḍiya Maṭha), requires more evidence for identification of names recorded in this epigraph.[5]

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1. P.V. Kane,History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Pt. II P. 949.
2. In the Sannyāsa-nirṇaya, Vallabhācārya says.

    अत: कलौ स संन्यास: पश्चात्तापाय नान्यथा ।
    पापदण्डित्वं भवेच्चापि तस्मात् ज्ञानेन संन्यसेत् ॥ (16)
    तस्मादुक्तप्रकारेण परित्यागो विधीयताम् ।
    अन्यथा भ्रश्यते स्वार्थादिति मे निश्चिता मति: ॥ (21)

    The same principle was expressed to Uddhava by Śrī-kṛṣṇa (vide *Bhāgavata*, III, 4, 20-21), saying that the path of devotion (*Bhakti*) is not achieved through *Sannyāsa-dharma* in the *Kali* age. "यस्माद्धि विदिषा सन्यासस्य कलौ खेदादिजनकत्वं........"
3. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja wrote the Caitanya Caritāmṛta; Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote the Caitanya Bhāgavata and Locana Dasa wrote the Caitanya Maṅgala. All those religious works of the 16th century, concerning Caitanya impressed the Oriya *Vaiṣṇavas* to adopt Bengali in religious song. Hence, that language got a footing in Orissa.
4. Harekrishna Mahatab in his Odisā-Itihāsa, P. 289 (2nd. Ed. Prajatantra Samiti, Cuttack, 1958) says : "if Vallabhācārya was the father in-law of Caitanya, then he must have lived in the end of the 15th century A.D.
5. According to Bhandarkar's Vaisnavism, P. 40 f., Vallabhācārya's cult agrees mostly with the Jñānāmṛtasāra-saṃhitā which sang the glory of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and written a little before the 16th century A.D. (Vide M. Winternitz, *H.I.L.*; Vol. I. P. 591, 1977)

No - 49

SRI JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language - Sanskrit
Script-North-Indian Kutila type
Measurement - 13" X 10"

TEXT

Line

1. ....56..........
2. [श्रीम]दनंग[भ]ीम ......
3. .... वीरसु(स्य) पुत्री दीप
4. [जा]नं .... गो(म)ण्डलि ...... [व पटल][(a)]

NOTES

Recently some obliterated and broken inscriptions on the wall of Śrī Jagannātha temple are found. They are so illegible that their correct decipherment is not possible, except a few letters which guide us to trace its time on palaeographical ground. The script belongs to the north-Indian *Kuṭila* type which has been used in some dated inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries, by the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.

Out of a few such broken and illegible epigraphs in the outer wall of the main temple, we are now editing one, which may give some idea, regarding the temple that was consecrated by Anaṅgabhīma III, in 1230 A.D. We, therefore, try to get along with the critical study of the said inscription only on hypothetical bais.

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a. The reading is doubtful.

The inscription was incised on a huge stone, fixed at the centre of the western wall, just 12 inches below a niche, where the figures of Veṇugopāla and two ladies on his either sides are standing. Above the said niche there is a miniature temple attached to the wall of *Śrīmandira*, which was constructed in some later age, probably to strengthen the main temple at her weak points. Perhaps some inscribed stones of that portion were damaged while building the miniature temple like niche where the *Pārśvadevatā* Narasiṃha has been installed.

The inscription was incised probably for burning a bright lamp in the niche to illuminate the western side of the temple, so that it would show way to pilgrims or devotees who would circumambulate (*pradakṣiṇā*) the temple during night. If our reading '*śakābda* (11)56 (= A.D. 1234) is taken into account, then after the number of pilgrims increased and while after the temple was consecrated in 1230 A.D., the king must have felt the neccesity of illuminating all sides of the temple Hence the niche was made in the wall to keep a bright lamp burning in the western part without being extinguished by wind. But, some time later when the lamp was not required for burning at the spot, the three figures i.e. Veṇugopāla with two ladies were installed there. We believe that it is a plausible reason to explain why a niche with some figures of later age was built and a few damaged inscriptions were incised in that odd part of the temple.

No - 50

GOPĀLA KṚṢṆA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
(NEAR THE MĀRKAṆDEŚVARA TEMPLE)

Language-faulty Sanskrit
Script - Bengali
Measurement - 32" X 15"

TEXT

Line

1. स्वस्ति हरे: । शुभमस्तु शकाब्दा 1666
2. षड्रसदर्शनचन्द्रमिते हब्दे पक्षोद्र -
3. तेसौ-सोपानं । नृपकीर्त्तिचन्द्रजन-
4. नीजनितं प्रेषितं हेरकृष्णासुता[a] ॥

NOTES

This is the second inscription of Kīrticandra who constructed the stone flights (*sōpāna*) in the tank of Markaṇḍa *tīrtha*. This inscription was engraved in the *śaka* year 1666 (=1744 A.D.). That was the period when the Maharattas started their invasion on Orissa and Vīrakeśarīdeva was on the *gādi* of Khurda.

This inscription belongs to Kīrticandra, a *Rājā* of Bardhamāna (Bengal). He was advised by his mother to do that glorious work. Another inscription of the same *Rājā* Kīrticandra, refers to the *śaka* year 1663 (=1741 A.D.)[1].

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a. Under two sides of the script there are two full bloomed lotuses.

1. K.N. Mahapatra, Khurudhā Itihāsa, P. 273.

No - 51

NṚSIṂHA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(Right side wall Top)

Languages - Sanskrit & Telugu
Script - North & South Indian Mixed
Measurement -

TEXT

Line

1. [a]भ ति(क्ति)
2. परम वा[से]
3. देवि भवान(नी)
4. - - क न - -
5. शि(श्री)का - -
6. शशि ग - -
7. वेदि

1. [सू]र्य्योपरागे द्विजकुल
2. ....

NOTES

The inscription is badly damaged as if somebody had rubbed a large portion of the slab in its right side. We are probably getting the name of a goddess "Devī Bhavān(ī)" in the second line.

The other damaged inscription below the first slab mentions "*(Sū)rya Parāga*" (eclipse of the Sun), when perhaps a *Brāhmaṇa* was granted some donation.

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a. The first four lines are in north Indian and the rest are in south Indian script.

No - 52

MĀRKAṆḌEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(SOUTH WALL)

Language - Sanskrit
Script - South Indian Type
Measurement - 16" X 6.5"

TEXT

1. [स्व]स्ति [॥] [समधि]गतनिर्मलमत्स्यकुल
2. [ति]लक मुकुन्दगि[रि]नाय[कस्य]
3. [प्रसिद्ध] नारंग [मुनि] कृत रू(ऋ)[ष्याश्रम][a]
4. ....

NOTES

This is the second inscription of a king of the Matsya dynasty of Mukundagiri. The first inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple (See No. 46) was issued in the *śaka* year 111(8) on the occasion of "*Nayanotsva*" (*Netrotsava*) of Śrī Puruṣottama. We, therefore, believe that the second inscription by the same king or by his queen might have been issued in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple in favour of lord Śiva.

We have already stated in our notes for the inscription No. 46 that, the Matsya kings of Oḍḍabāḍi (Mukundagiri) were closely related to the imperial Gaṅga kings of Utkala. In one of the inscriptions of the Siṃhāchalaṃ temple, issued by Arjuna Bhūpati, son of Jayanta of the same dynasty, he had claimed that, like the divine Garuḍa (the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu) he killed the serpents :

"तस्मादर्जुनभूपतिः परहितप्रारब्धमूर्त्तिगुण
ग्रामोत्पत्तिगृहं सपत्नभुजगश्रेणी विहंगेश्वरः ॥"[1]

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a. The inscription is not completed and also not clearely readable.

1. S.I.I. Vol. VI. No. 1143; I.O. Vol. V. Pt.-I Pp. 180-181

In one of the Telugu Inscriptions of a Matsya king, found in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam, engraved in the *śaka* year 1196 (1274 A.D.), we find that the king had used the following epithet (*praśasti*) for himself :

''स्वस्ति परमधार्मिक-परमवैष्णव-परममाहेश्वर मत्स्यकुलतिलक बुद्धिजनसाधारण-विश्रामकल्पवृक्ष आश्रितजनकामधेनु-गुणरत्नसागर-अनेकविद्यापरिपूर्णलक्ष्मीअलंकृत-रिपुदर्पमर्द्दन-गंगवंशनिद्रोह ....श्रीकुमार अनंतजियन (जेना)[2]''

He was also the head of many *māṇḍalikas* or princes under him. His capital was called Chikaṭi[3]. This inscription proves that a branch of the Matsya dynasty was posted at Chikaṭi under the Imperial Gaṅga kings of Utkala.

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2. S.I.I. vol. VI, No - 712; I.O. Vol. V. P-1, P - 197-199.
3. Identified with modern Chikiti of Ganjam District.

No - 53

THE PAÑCAPĀṆḌAVA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

Language-Hindusthani

Script - Marahatti

Measurement - 17" X 5"

TEXT

Line

1. संव्व 1674 वर्षे आसाढ़ ध-
2. माहबस 7 म(मे) श्रीमुंजाजी रा -
3. उ (?) मर(रा)मत

NOTES

This is the second inscription which states that Muñjāji Raw, a Maharatta Chief had repaired the temple of Pañcapāṇḍava. This small temple is found by the side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. In our first volume, another inscription of the same person (Muñjāji) was published (see No.27). Now, we get the date of the said repair of the Pañcapāṇḍava temple, which was done by Muñjāji Raw in *saṃvat* 1674 (= 1752 A.D.) The Marahattas started their administration in Orissa in 1751 A.D. and continued upto 1803. This temple, near the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple, was therefore repaired immediately after Orissa was occupied by the Marahattas.

PART - II

THE ORIGIN OF ŚRĪ PURUṢOTTAMA-JAGANNĀTH

1. THE EARLY STAGE OF VAIṢṆAVISM IN KALIṄGA :

The foundation of Vaiṣṇavism in Kaliṅga was laid after Samudragupta's southern expedition when that country was under the kings of 'Pitṛbhakta' or 'Māṭhara' dynasty. The Gupta monarch had marched to the south as far as Kāñci in the 4th century A.D. after defeating some minor princes of Kośala, Kaliṅga and Veṅgi. A couple of centuries after his expedition, the Nalas, the Sarabhapurians and the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings of Madhya Bhārata adopted Vaiṣṇavism and used the title of 'Paramabhāgavata'. A Pāṇḍuvaṃśī king, named Tīvaradeva, used the image of Garuḍa (the bird vehicle of Viṣṇu), as his royal emblem. Prior to him the Sarabhapurians installed the figures of 'Gaja-Lakṣmī' as their royal insignia. Long before those kings of Madhya Bhārata, a Māṭhara king, named Caṇḍavarman,[1] was ruling over the country of Kaliṅga from Siṃhapura near the Mahendragiri (Mahendra Mountain). He installed the image of Nārāyaṇa on its summit. The early kings of this dynasty who worshipped Lord Śiva, had also installed *Śivaliṅgas* on that mountain, where many sages were living.

After Caṇḍavarman, another powerful king of his line named Prabhañjanavarman, used the following epithet :

"भगवत्स्वामिनारायणपदानुध्यातः सकलकलिङ्गाधिपति शङ्कर X X X
कृष्णवेण्या महानद्यन्तरस्था प्रजाधर्मेणानुशासितः X X X
श्रीमहाराजा प्रभञ्जनवर्मा [2]

Most probably, he constructed some Viṣṇu temples in his kingdom which extended from the river Krishna in the south and to the Mahanadi in the north.

The philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism was divided into two sections, namely : (1) Vaikhānasa school and (2) Pañcarātrika school. The Vaikhānasas worshipped Viṣṇu in three phases, namely Puruṣa (omnipotent), Acyuta (imperishable) and Aniruddha (unconstraint), while the later Pañcarātrikas followed Caturvyūha cult

and worshipped Vāsudeva,[3] Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti says :

"पुरुषं च ततः सूक्तमच्युतं च युधिष्ठिर ।
अनिरुद्धं च मां प्राहुर्वैखानसविदो जनाः ॥
वासुदेवं च राजेन्द्र सङ्कर्षणमथाऽपि वा ।
प्रद्युम्नं चानिरुद्धं च चतुर्मूर्त्तिं प्रचक्षते ॥"[4]

Appaya Dikṣīta, in his Vedānta-Kalpataru-Parimala states that according to the Vaikhānasa *śāstra*, the Pañcarātrika school is not 'Vaidika'. The Vaikhānasa school seems to have been popular in the Gupta period although it has been prevalent since a remote Vedic age. Mahākavi Kālidāsa writes in the Śakuntalā Nāṭaka, in a questioning dialogue by Duṣmanta to Priyambadā, if Śakuntalā was following the Vaikhānasa-vrata :

"वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमात्रदानाद्
व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य निषेवितव्यम् ॥

The Mahābhārata, in Śānti-parva (20.6.7), states :

"वैखानसानां कौन्तय श्रूयते वचनं यथा ।
ईहेत धनहेतोर्यस्तस्यानीहा गरीयसी ॥"[5]

The Vaikhānasīya *yoga* was so popular in Utkala, that it was not a forgotten practice by hermits for a long time. An allegorical verse from the Cāṭeśvara temple inscription may be cited here.

"योगाभ्यासपरिश्रमेण न तया वैखानसानामिदम् ।
विश्वं विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्माणपृथ्वीपते ॥"[6]

It was used for taunting the frightened king of Tummāṇa, who being pursued by his enemy named Viṣṇu (a commander of Utkala), had behaved like Vaikhānasas who perceive Viṣṇu (god) in every direction of the sphere. So also, the king of Tummāṇa being perplexed, was looking Viṣṇu (the commander), everywhere he turned his eyes. Although it was an allegorical annotation by the writer, we pick up a hint from it that some Vaikhāṇasas had been practising *yoga* in Utkala even in the 13th century A.D.

2. THE ŚAILODHAVAS OF KOṄGADA AND THE ŚRĪ-KṢETRA :

The Pañcarātrika school might have gained popularity in Kaliṅga, Koṅgada and other neighbouring tracts as long as the Śailodbhavas continued their rule in that region. The Śailodbhavas were the followers of Śaivism. They must have constructed a large number of temples of Lord Śiva in their dominion, surrounding all sides of the Chilka lake.

Śrī-Kṣetra (Puri) was topographically a religious centre of Koṅgada, where some *muni-āśramas* were established, in the temples of Mārkaṇḍa, Aṅgirā, Paṇḍu or Kaṇḍu and Bhṛgu. According to a system, introduced in Purī temples, the image of Sudarśana, is carried to visit those *ṛṣi-āśramas* on some auspicious days such as Rādhāṣṭamī, Kumārotsava and Gamhā-Paurṇamī. Sudarśana is to honour each sage at his temple or *āśrama*. That old system is still practised in Purī.

In Puri the *āśrama* of Bhṛgu is in Bāli Sāhi, Aṅgirā's *āśrama* is in Dolamaṇḍapa Sāhi, Paṇḍu or Kandu's *āśrama* is in Gauḍabāḍa Sāhi and Mārkaṇḍeya *āśrama* is in Mārkaṇḍeśvara Sāhi. According to Mahābhārata (Vana-parva) the Pāṇḍavas were advised by Lomaśa-muni to visit some sacred places after they crossed the river Vaitaraṇī on their way to Kaliṅga. If the said description of Lomaśa-muni is condemned as a later interpolation in the Vana-parva, even then there is little doubt that some *munis* (sages) of Jainism were living in that coastal area when Khāravela, a powerful monarch of Kaliṅga, had followed Jainism. A statue of Mahāvīra Jina was probably installed by him on the Khaṇḍagiri hill. The Hātīgumphā inscription of Khāravela states that a sacred *Jināsana* was previously removed from Kaliṅga to Magadha by Mahāpadma Nanda in the 4th century B.C. That sacred object was brought back to Kaliṅga by Khāravela in the 1st. century B.C. Pandit Nilakantha Das states that the said *Jināsana*, in the later age, was worshipped as 'Puruṣottama-Jagannātha' at Puri. But, for want of any convincing evidence, we are not able to accept it, although Puri was an ancient *tīrtha* where *tapasvins* were dwelling in the hill caves. Some inscriptions of the later Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada narrate the following verse, expressing that a king of that province could earn similar religious glory at his own capital what the *yogis* and *munis* could achieve by performing hard austerity in mountains and caves. The inscription sings the glory of Madhyamarāja as follows :

"केचिच्छैलगुहोदरेषु नियता धूमावलीपायिनः
अन्ये वायुफलाम्बुभक्षनिरता केचिन्नीराहारकाः ।
इत्थं योगजुषो विहाय वसतिं ध्यायन्ति नित्यं पदं
चित्रं मध्यमराजदेव गुणधृग् राज्येऽपि तत् प्राप्तवान् ।।[7]

Most probably, those hermits who lived in Koṅgada-maṇḍala, were worshipping either Viṣṇu or Śiva in the coastal tracts while in the hill areas i.e. the western part of Kongada, there lived Tāntric *yogis* who worshipped Devī (Durgā) in the form of Stambheśvarī.

Long before the advent of Jainism, the worship of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) was performed as one 'Savitṛ-maṇḍala-madhyavartin', who was present in the centre of the Sun's halo. Therefore, in the Bhagavad-Gītā, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says; "I am Viṣṇu among the Ādityas". आदित्यानामहं विष्णुः[8]

The Ṛg-Veda sings that only pious people can attain the blessed place of Viṣṇu (Ṛ.V. 1.22.20-21). In the Upaniṣads like Maitra (VI.13) and Kaṭha (III.9), Viṣṇu is regarded as the 'Parama-pada'. It reveals that the worship of Viṣṇu was an ancient convention of the Aryans who performed the holy *yajñas* in conceiving that Viṣṇu and Agni (the fire-god) were the two *dikṣāpālas* (protectors of *dikṣā*).

According to Āpastambha, a *yajamāna*, while performing a *yajña*, should rise from his seat to do the '*viṣṇukrama*' (strides of Viṣṇu) :

"विष्णुक्रमा नाम तल्लिङ्गविशिष्टाः पदविक्षेपाः तान्दक्षिणे वेदिसीम्नि क्रामति ।"[9]

3. HISTORY OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT KALIṄGA :

A Jain canonical work, called Uttarādhyāyana[10], states about Kṛṣṇa as follows:

"In the city of Sauryapura there lived two mighty princes. The first, Vasudeva by name, had two wives, Rohiṇī and Devakī, each of whom bore him a son, Rāma and Keśava. The second, Samudravijaya by name, had a son Ariṣṭanemi by his wife Śivā". The story might have been collected from the Mahābhārata or the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

After the visit of Bhagavān Mahāvīra, the 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara* to Kaliṅga to meet a *yogī*, named Vesāyana, there was a sporadic development of Jainism and Śaivism under the patronage and support of 'Gaṅga' kings of that country.[11] A few centuries before the Gaṅgas, the Mauryan kings Candragupta and his brother Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha had failed to subjugate Kaliṅga, although the later had taken away the pious *Jināsana* from that country.

In the 3rd century B.C., Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta killed a large number of people in Kaliṅga in a frightful battle, which put him into depletion and caused a great change in his life and conduct i.e. a change from flendish action of cruelty (*hiṃsā*) to divinelike mercy (*Karuṇā*) and compassion. He accepted Buddhism from a saint named Upagupta, and then devoted the rest of his life in propagation of Buddhist philosophy (ahiṃsā) in all the countries. His two edicts inscribed at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were aimed towards the peoples of Toṣāli and Kaliṅga, who suffered heavily in the Kaliṅga war. Some remnants of the 'Pillar of Peace' (Aśoka-stambha), which were built in Sāranātha are also found in Bhubaneswar. In the subsequent age the Cedi kings of Kaliṅga could valour as soon as the kings of Magadha being derogated, lost their glory.

In the 1st century B.C. Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela of Cedi dynasty ruled in Kaliṅga. He was so stalwart and powerful that he subdued all the countries from the foot of the Himālayas in the north to as far as Pāṇḍya-deśa (Rāmeśvaram) in the south. Many defeated kings bowed down at his feet. He invaded Magadha twice against Vṛhaspatimitra with great valour. He recovered the sacred *Jināsana* which Mahāpadma Nanda had carried away from Kaliṅga to Magadha. Although he accepted Jainism, he never disregarded the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Bauddhas* in his country. He granted wealth sumptuously to all religious souls i.e. the saints and savants who lived in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, where he hewed cave-temples for them. The heritage of Kaliṅga in Khāravela's reign is revealed from the Hātigumphā inscription which sang his glory in Prākṛta language. His queen and sons also followed his footsteps by honouring hermits and teachers by building caves (abodes) for their safe habitation.

Khāravela's successor, Kumāra Baḍukha or Kuḍepa, had used the royal title like his father, "Mahārāja-Kaliṅgādhipati-Mahāmeghavāhana". We may assume

that a Jaina saint, who lived in Khaṇḍagiri, might have produced a canonic work, called 'Mahāmegha-sūtra', using the title of his patron 'Mahāmeghavāhana'. The said work was translated in Chinese language in 397 and 439 A.D.[12] The cults of Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism equally thrived in Kaliṅga under Khāravela and his successors who constructed many cave-temples for hermits and savants to teach theology and philosophy together with various other subjects to their students at the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves. Khāravela's son, Kuḍepa was also a supporter of the religious *gurus*. He hewed the Pātālapuri-Gumphā in the Udayagiri.

4. THE KUŚĀṆA RULE IN KALIṄGA :

The name 'Kuḍepa' sounds like Kadphises-II (65-75 A.D.), a Kuśāṇa chief who ruled over the Kabul valley and whose son had conquered the north-eastern parts of Hindusthān where he had appointed a Governor. Since the 1st. century A.D. the Kuśāṇa chiefs had invaded a few parts of India. By that time Bhāgavatism had slowly stepped into mid-India. At that time, Magadha and Kaliṅga were two separate imperial seats in the east, over which during the 1st century A.D., those Kuśāṇas could establish their sway. A large number of gold and copper coins, stamped with special emblems embossed on them have been discovered. We will discuss this in the ensuing chapter.

According to Sten Know, the Kuśāṇas formed a separate section of the Śakas and gained more power after the decline of the Śaka-satrapas. They started their rule in India just before the rise of the Gupta empire. The Guptas had supported Bhāgavatism and extirpated the Kuśāṇas from India with the help of some Nāga kings of Vindhyāṭavī.[13] After Samudragupta's expedition in the 4th century, the cult of Vaiṣṇavism gained resurrection with its past glory even though Jainism and Buddhism were deeply rooted in the soils of east-Indian territories including Kaliṅga.

From the 2nd century A.D., the Kuśāṇa rule had overwhelmed many parts of India together with Magadha and Kaliṅga. Although we get no direct evidence about their political activities in the coastal tracts of Utkala, hoards of some important copper-coins, discovered from the districts of Puri, Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Cuttack and Ganjam adumbrate their commercial strategy in Utkala.[14]

Dr. Sten Know points out that the imperial Kuśāṇas had formed a section of the Śakas. Some scholars also state that they were related to the Śaka-satrapas. Anyway, the Kuśāṇa power had overwhelmed this land, particularely the parts of Utkala for a long period until the rise of the imperial Guptas and the Nāgas of Vindhyāṭavī.

5. THE ŚAKAS AND RESURRECTION OF BUDDHISM :

The first Kuśāṇa expedition had taken place by Kujala Kadphesis-I, at the Kabul valley where he extirpated the Parthians and occupied Gāndhāra as well as the whole of north-western border of India, i.e. the Indus valley.(15) Then, he acquired the glorious title of 'Mahārāja' like Khārạvela. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, his son Wema or Kadphises-II, reigned from 65 to 75 A.D.(16) He seems to have extended his sway in Āryāvarta or the north and mid-India. According to Vincent Smith, Kadphises-II's imperial power in the east had touched the river Gaṅgā at Benaras, covering the entire area of Afghanistan and the neighbouring Bukhara with some parts of Russian territory.(17) He appointed some Kuśāṇa governors to rule over that extensive area. From the epigraphical sources it is known that Mathura and Benaras, the two important metropoles in 'Āryāvarta' (Uttar Pradesh) were under his sway. After Kadphises-II, some of his governors or semi-independent chiefs had sustained independence in that region. They issued their individual coins containing no name of any king, except a figure or a symbolic letter only.

Kadphises-II's immediate successor was Kaniṣka who built a great empire by extending his dominion as far as Magadha including Bengal. He appointed a number of governors or 'Satrapas' in different regions to make his administration strong and palatable. In his ruling period, the Mahāyāna Buddhism could thrive successfully as he organised a Buddhist council at Kashmir near Jalandhar. That was presided by the famous Buddhist scholar, Vasumitra, who proposed to write a new text on Māhāyanism in Sanskrit. A large number of Buddhist scupltures and Stūpas was built in different places of his dominion. Historians attribute his time to the first century A.D. and hold that the era *śakāvda* which commenced from 78 A.D. was introduced by him. It became a very popular era, like the

vikramāvda. After Kaniṣka-I, his son Vasiṣka and grandson Huviṣka, ruled conjointly with Kaniṣka-II, son of Vasiṣka, Kaniṣka-II used the title of Mahārāja-Rājātirāja-Devaputra. Then, Vasudeva-I, the successor of Huviṣka, ruled upto 176 A.D. He was a supporter of Śaivism and extended his away beyond the Vindhya mountain. Presumably, he appointed governors in several provinces including east Indian territories. But, after him those governors had declared independence towards the end of the 2nd century A.D.

Basing on this historical propriety we may presume that the political boundary of the later Kuśāṇas had stretched as far as the coastal districts of Orissa, i.e., from Ganjam to Balasore, where, as stated before, their coins were discovered. A Buddhist king, Mahārāja Gaṇa's name is found from a Prākṛt inscription of the Bhadrakālī temple in Balasore district, whose date may be assigned to the 3rd century A.D. On palaeographical consideration we may presume that some Buddhist princes established their independent rule in that region, although for want of more evidence about Mahārāja Gaṇa, we cannot offer any suggestion regarding any Buddhist supremacy in the eastern part of Kaliṅga where the *Ārya-saṅgha Bauddhas* resided.

After Mahārāja Khāravela, the capital of Kalinga was shifted to Mukhaliṅgam on the bank of the river Vamśadhārā. After termination of the Kuśāṇa rule, the Māṭharas and the Eastern Gangas extended their away from the river Krishna in the south to as far as the river Mahanadi in the north.

During the Kuśāṇa rule, many talented scholars like Aśvaghoṣa, Caraka, Nāgārjuna etc. lived in this country and professed the science and the cult of Buddhism. Many sculptures of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara were adored by monks of the Mahāyāna school. The eastern part of the coastal tracts of Kaliṅga was flooded by the Mahāyāna propensity.(18) At the same time Śaivism also gained popularity while the images of Naṭaraja-Śiva, Umā-Maheśvara, Gaṇeśa, Durgā etc. were installed in some newly built temples with artistic skill. This implicated some beneficial result, such as development of trade and commerce through navigation with foreign countries from the ports and towns of Kaliṅga.

6. REVIVAL OF HINDUISM AND WORSHIP OF NĀRĀYAṆA :

Towards the middle of the third century A.D. the Nāgas gained victory over several states in the northern parts of Kaliṅga. They retrieved Brāhmaṇism by implementing sacrifices like 'Aśvamedha', 'Vājapeya' etc. According to some Purānas, Padmāvatī, Mathura, Kāntipuri and Vidiśa were the four famous seats of the Nāga kings. The Besnagar (Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh) inscription states that an image of Garuḍa-dhvaja (Viṣṇu) was installed in Vidiśa. The Ghosuṇḍi (Rajasthan) inscription mentions that a Pūjā-śilā-prākāra was called 'Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka'. The said inscription was incised in honour of the god Nārāyaṇa, by a *Bhāgavata* (devotee of Viṣṇu) who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice in honour of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and Saṅkarṣaṇa (Balarāma).[19]

The Morā inscription of Mathura (U.P.) of the 1st. century A.D. and the Tusam (Hissar district of Punjab) inscription of the 4th century A.D., refer to one 'Ārya-Sātvata-yogācārya', who was a devotee of Viṣṇu. While the northern and central India were richly advancing the cult of Bhāgavatism, the south Indian *ācārya*s used to sing the conticles of Vedic hymn during the 3rd century A.D. near the river Krishna. An inscription of Nāgārjunikondā (Krishna district) states that a king of the time of Ābhīra Vāsuśena (278 A.D.) had invoked Nārāyaṇa as quoted below :

नमो भगवतो देव परमदेवस्य ।
पुराणपुरुषस्य नारायणस्य ।।[20]

Dr. D.C. Sircar,[21] states that the image of Viṣṇu possessed eight arms, as described by Varāhamihira in the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā.[22] In the same period or even a century later (in the 4th century A.D.), the Māṭhara kings of Kaliṅga had established matrimonial relationship with the Vaśiṣṭhiputras of Veṅgi region. But, the flow of Bhāgavatism had stealthily crept into Kaliṅga not only from the south, but also from all parts of the Gupta dominion.

The Māṭhara kings had ruled in Kaliṅga from their capital at Siṃhapura upto circa 7th. century A.D. A king of that royal dynasty, called Caṇḍavarman, had used, for the first time, the title of *Parama-Bhāgavata*.[23] From the 4th century

onwards, some kings of Dakṣiṇa-kośala (west Orissa) also used the same title (*Parama-Bhāgavata*). They selected the *Vaiṣṇava gurus* from amongst the *Pañcarātrika Vaiṣṇavas* who worshipped the four armed figure of Viṣṇu. In the later age, however, they adored Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) who possessed two arms. In the north-western parts of Kaliṅga at Puṣkari (Umarakote sub-division of Koraput district), the Nala kings used to worship the god Hari (Viṣṇu). In an inscription of Skandavarman, son of Bhavadattavarman of the Nala family, it is mentioned that the main god of the king was Hari, whom he invoked in the following verse:

हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यत्येषा गुणस्तुतिर्न्न हिया ।
ननु भगवानेव यया जेतव्य जाधिजेता च ॥ (24)

From that inscription it is also known that Skandavarman had adored Viṣṇu, whose foot-santuary was installed by him at Poḍāgaḍa of Koraput district. It reminds us that the adoration of 'Viṣṇu-pāda' (foot-print of Viṣṇu) was adopted by the kings of Java. In an inscription of Java, about which we will inform later, the footprint of Viṣṇu was worshipped. After the Māṭhara king Caṇḍavarman of Siṃhapura, some of his successors had embraced Vaiṣṇavism, while some others invoked Śiva. Those Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* who lived in Kaliṅga were the daily worshippers of five deities namely Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Durgā. Caṇḍavarman's descendent, Nanda-prabhañjana-Varman, called himself "Bhagavat-svāmī-Nārāyaṇa-Pādabhaktaḥ".(25) His father, Śaktivarman, extended his sway from the river Krishna in the south to as far as the river Mahanadi in the north (from Vezwaḍa to Cuttack). After the decline of the Māṭharas, another royal family had temporarily ruled over the country, between the rivers Godavari and Vaitaraṇi. A king named Pṛthivi Mahārāja of that family had issued two grants from his capital Piṣṭapura, in favour of two Vedic *brahmacārins*, who were well-versed in the *Vedas* and *śastras*. From his Pāralākhemundi plates, we find the following passage relating to the grantee, who was the son of Dāmodaraśarman and grandson of Mātṛśarman :

मातृशर्म्मणः पौत्राय दामोदरशर्म्मणः पुत्राय वेद-वेदाङ्ग-
पारगाय षट्कर्मनिरताय यम-नियम-पारगाय
पुराण-रामायण-धर्मशास्त्राद्यनेकविद्यापारदर्शिने
भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीयब्रह्मचारिणे ग्रामोऽयं........दत्तः ।(26)

The title and *gotra* of the king (donor) were Śrī-Rāma and Kaśyapa respectively. He was also a *Parama-Brāhmaṇya.* It appears that he was a worshipper of Śrī-Rāma. For the first time, however, we find the mention of Rāmāyaṇa (the famous Mahākāvya) in Kaliṅga. Probably, it was recited like the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Kaliṅga in or before 5th or 6th century A.D.

7. THE NĀGAS AND THE GUPTAS OF KALIṄGA :

The Nāga kings of that age got political supremacy over the northern and central parts of India. From a few epigraphical records we know that the daughter of a Nāga king Bhavanāga was given in marriage to a Vākāṭaka prince, who performed ten Aśvamedha *yajñas* at Benaras on the bank of the river Gaṅgā. He resided in Padmāvatī. Being a powerful ruler, he issued coins in his name, which were discovered from Padmāvatī at Gwalior. The Nāga kings were originally worshippers of Śiva. But, after Bhavanāga, the whole country, from Padmāvatī to Mathurā was subdued by one Gaṇapati Nāga, who was defeated by Samudragupta.[27] Of course, Candragupta-II, had established some matrimonial relationship with the Nāga kings in subsequent period, when he married a Nāga princess, named Kuberanāgā. While refering to an inscription stated before, he mentions as to how the 'Devaputras' (Kuśāṇas) were defeated by the Nāga kings and were expelled from the northern parts of Kaliṅga. That inscription was incised on a slab in which there is the figure of a 'Naṭarāja Śiva', nicely depicted in relief. It renders a clear proof that the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī and Vidiśā of north India were *Śaivas.*

Prof. B.N. Luniya says, "The Nāga rulers first appeared as the champions of the national cause early in the third century A.D. They organised a struggle against the foreigners and swept away the alien Kuśāṇa rule from the Gangetic basin and Mathurā and re-established the Hindu rule and the imperial traditions. They played an important role in the cultural history of the country by reviving the old Vedic rites and the study of Sanskrit language and literature".

The Asanpāt inscription[28] renders a picture which supports the above statement of Prof. B.N. Luniya. The same epigraph records that Śatrubhañja was well-versed in *Bhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa, Śruti, Veda-Prakaraṇa,*

Upāṅga, Vijñāna and *Sattra-Karma.* It shows that being an admirable ruler, he acquired knowledge in several Hindu *Śāstras.*

Samudragupta's expedition is a milestone in the history of Kaliṅga. He arrived at the Mahendra mountain after defeating the kings of Kośala and Mahākāntāra. The first prince whom he defeated after crossing over Mahākāntāra, is Manṭarāja of Kurāla. It was a village of the same name (Kurāla), situated near Saraṇakula in Nayagada P.S. of Puri district. Manṭarāja was only a prince of that area. Then, the Gupta monarch attacked one Svāmidatta of Mahendragiri-koṭṭura, which was also a small principality and defeated him together with many other princes, such as Damana of Eraṇḍapalli, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra, Dhanañjaya of Kuṣthalapura, Damana of Piṣṭapura and Viṣṇugopa of Kānci. All those small territories except Kānci, were parts of the old Kaliṅga kingdom.(29)

In the 7th century A.D., Mahārāja Harṣavardhana visited Koṅgada to pacify a dispute between the Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists of Buddhism. Immediately after that, Huen Tshang, the Chinese traveller visited that land (Kongada), where he found a few Buddhist monasteries. He wrote that a majority of the people were using the language which he compared with the dialogue of the north Indian peoples. He might have heard either Sanskrit or Māgadhi-prākṛta in Koṅgada.

The Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada used the title of *Parama Māheśvara*, while the contemporary Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala adopted Vaiṣṇavism and used the title of *Parama- Vaiṣṇava.*(30) The Sarabhapurian kings of Madhyabhārata also used the same title. Their capital Śirpur (near Raipur) had subsequently passed to a Pāṇḍava king, Tīvaradeva, whose ancestors were ruling over the country of Mekala at Vindhya region. Tīvaradeva, in his copper-plate grants, had used the title of Parama-Vaiṣṇava with Garuḍa emblem. He subdued the kingdom of Kośala after the downfall of the Sarabhapurian kings and extended his territory from Kośala to Utkala that comprised of the districts of Siṃhabhūma, Mānabhūma and a portion of Mayūrabhañja. He also attempted to capture Koṅgada while a struggle was going on between the two brothers of Śailodbhava family named Dharmarāja and Mādhavarāja, for the crown of that kingdom. Although Tīvaradeva interfered

in it, he failed to achieve his motive but suffered a defeat in that battle at Phāsika (a village near Āṭhagaḍa of Ganjam district).(31)

We are still in darkness about the dynastic chronicle of the Nāgas of Vindhyāṭavī, who displayed great fame in the east-Indian territories. But, a Nāga king named Jayanāga, who probably was a ruler of that country, had subsequently been subdued by Śaśāṅka, another powerful king of Karṇasuvarṇa and the overlord of several principalities of coastal districts of Utkala. In the early parts of the 7th century, he was defeated by Harṣavardhana. Then, Karṇasuvarṇa was subdued by Bhāskaravarman, a Buddhist king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam).

8. THE CANDRA KINGS OF INDIAN ARCHIPALAGO :

Before Śaśāṅka, i.e. in the 6th century, a great change took place in the political sphere of north-Kaliṅga. While one Gopacandra of the so called Candra dynasty extended his sway from the Balasore district of Orissa as far as the Faridpur district of Bangladesh in the east, several subordinate kings lived under him in that land. The Jayarāmpur (Balasore) copper-plate inscription states that a subordinate Buddhist king named Acyuta, had requested Mahārāja Gopacandra to allow him to grant a village called Śvetavālikā to maintain a Buddhist temple at Bodhipadraka-vihāra in which the god Avalokiteśvara was installed. His request was readily granted by Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra whose *praśasti* (laudation) was running as quoted below :

> चतुरुदधिसलिलसीमान्तायामनेकद्वीपनगरपत्तनाधिष्ठानाद्रि-
> सरोवरप्रवाहसिद्धदेवतायतनश्रेष्ठमान्यां स्वधर्मकर्मनिरत-
> चतुर्वर्णाश्रमप्रकृतिजनपदसमग्रायामनेकद्विजवरेश्वराग्निहोत्र-
> भवनहविधूमसुरभीकृततपोवन अर्केन्दुमयूखेन शायिता-
> यामविरतवेदाध्ययनन्यासध्वनिन्निरस्तदुरितायां
> परममाहेश्वरमहाराजाधिराजश्रीगोपचन्द्रे राज्यं प्रशासति ।(32)

It means, "Hail; The country, surrounded by four oceans, in which there were many inlands, cities, ports etc.; which formed a prosperous kingdom of many institutions, restaurants for pilgrims and *sādhus* and temples of *Devas*, which was the resident of four *varṇas* (castes), who strictly followed the law (*dharma*)

in respect for *svadharma* (self-duty); wherefrom the perpetual sacrificial (Homa)-flame and smoke was rising high to cover the sky through sacrificial oblations performed by Agnihotras (Brāhmaṇas), which formed a panoramic picture of *tapovana* (forest of penance) having delightful fragrance and brilliance like the rays of the Sun and Moon; which is far awy from calamities on account of sacred songs of Vedic hymns together with *nyāsa*; which in all the three worlds was the only country unknown to any draught but ever green with trees and creepers, full of fruits and flowers, produced excellent fragrance and sweetness. That excellent country was ruled by Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra, son of Mahārājādhirāja Dhanacandra and Śrī Giridevī, whose merit, glory and good qualities had stretched all over the world within the sphere of four great oceans.

The east-coast was described by Mahākavi Kālidasa in the Raghuvaṃśa (*kāvya*) as a beautiful forest of paradise, full of *tamāla* (xanthochymus pictorious) and *tāla* (palm) trees.

दूरादयश्चक्रनिभस्य तन्वी
तमालताली वनराजिनीला।
आभाति वेला लवणाम्बुराशे-
र्धारानिबद्धेव कलङ्करेखा ॥(33)

The Jayarāmpur inscription also mentions that prince Acyuta had invoked the Lord Jalanidhi (*Mahodadhi*) in a prolonged panegyric passage. Actually, the ocean of the east-coast was regarded in the Gupta age, as a great *tīrtha* and called by name 'Tīrtha-rāja' as engraved in some inscritions of the temples of Puri. From the Jayarāmpur plates we known that some Buddhist monasteries and *vihāras* were built in the Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala (located in the districts of Balasore and Midnapur). That region was ruled by the Mahārāja Acyuta, a *samanta* king under Gopacandra, a follower of Brāhmaṇism. He lived in circa 6th century and was as powerful as the former Nāga kings of Daṇḍabhukti together with the districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. We have already stated that a Nāga king named Jayanāga, had become the ruler of Karṇasuvarṇa. He followed Brāhmaṇism and Bhāgavatism like Gopacandra and used the title of Mahārājādhirāja. While editing his Voppaghoṣavaṭa grant, Lionel D. Barnett suggested that the script of that

inscription had formed upright Gupta type, apparently belonged to the latter half of the 6th century.

Most probably, the king Jayanāga was a contemporary of Gopacandra and became an independent ruler of Karṇasuvarṇa, after Yasodharman had claimed sway beween river Brahmaputra and the Mahendra mountains. Basing on this analogue of the 6th century, we trace that there must have existed harmony and co-operation among those who followed the cults of Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism in the East. The Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* or Agnihotrīs were highly respected not only by *Vaiṣṇavas* and *Śaivas*, but also by the Buddhist kings. The *'caturvarṇa'* system was strictly followed in the society by rulers of different religious faiths. Therefore, the Bauddha kings maintained the *varnāśrama-dharma* although they were taught to discard the Vedas, Upaniṣads and all types of sacrificial *yajña*.

9. THE LATER GUPTAS AND THE ŚAILODBHAVAS :

In the 6th century, in the central India including Dakṣiṇa-kośala (Western Orissa and Chatisgarh), there lived a king, named Bhīmasena, who used the title *Parama-Bhāgavata.* He issued a grant in the Gupta year 282 (= 602 A.D.). It indicates that he belonged to the age of the later Gupta kings under whom he ruled over Kośala, Mekala and Mālava. We get two more inscriptions of that period from Utkala, viz. (1) Sumaṇḍala plates, issued in 250 of the Gupta year (= 570 A.D.), issued by Dharmarāja, while Kaliṅga was being governed by one Pṛthvivigraha.(34) and (2) Ganjam plates of Mādhava-varman of Śailodbhava dynasty issued in the Gupta year 300 (= 620 A.D.)(35)

According to the Sumaṇḍala plates, a subordinate prince named Dharmarāja of Abhaya dynasty was a devout worshipper of Sahasraraśmin (the Sun-god). He belonged to the family of Abhaya which was subsequently called 'Abhita' by the Śailodbhava kings of Kongada-maṇḍala. That was the time when Mahārāja Śaśāṅka was the overlord of Toṣāli, under whom many subordinate kings in the country lying between the rivers Suvarṇarekhā and Ruṣikulyā lived as vassals. Among those kings we find the names of Somadatta in the north and Mādhavarāja in the south, who used the title of *"Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta"*. Another *sāmanta* king named Śambūyaśa was a devotee of Viṣṇu as stated in his Midnapur charters.

Palaeographically, his inscriptions are attributed to 600-650 A.D. Two other subordinate kings of Śaśāṅka named Śubhakīrti and Somadatta had also invoked Viṣṇu in their charters as follows :

विष्णोः पोताग्रविक्षेपक्षणभावितसाध्वसां ।
शेषाशेषशिरोमध्यमध्यासीनं महातनुम् ॥[36]

The harmony and cooperation which existed in the 6th century among the Bauddhas and the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* under the patronage of kings, vanished in the 7th century A.D. Śaśāṅka, the powerful king of Karṇasuvarṇa must have provoked the Buddhist kings, Harṣavardhana of Thaneśvara and Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam), who fought vigourously against Śaśāṅka and captured Karṇasuvarṇa. Of course, Harṣa's invasion was more stiff due to some family feuds as described by Bāṇabhatta in the 'Harṣa-carita'.

After Tīvaradeva, one of his successors, Mahāśivagupta, son of Śrī-Harṣadeva of Dakṣiṇa-kośala, had granted a village to Acarya Sūlapāṇi, who was a disciple of Śrī-Pramathācārya of Dvaita-vana. There was a sacred forest of penance called *'Pañca-yajña tapovana'* situated in that region, where Ācārya-Pramathācārya's name was recorded in an inscription of the temple of Parśurāmeśvara at Bhubaneswar. Therefore, we presume that 'Dvaita-vana' and 'Pañca-yajña-tapovana' were not far from Bhubaneswar, where some Śaiva *ācāryas* were dwelling to perform five types of sacrifices (Pañcayajña).[37]

The Śailodbhavas of Koṅgada were the worshippers of Maheśvara and supporters of Vedic rites. Their kingdom was confined within the two rivers, viz. Rushikulya in the south and Mahanadi in the north. Within that region they built ten cities and many forts. They also maintained elephants in enhancing potency of their dominion. They built many charitable institutions by granting *śāsanas* to the learned *Brāhmaṇas*. A well flourished port town called Chelitālo (Caritrā or Pālura) was located near the 'Tīrtharāja-Mahodadhi', not far from 'Srī-dhāma' (Puri). Śrī-Puruṣottama's image was installed in that place. From an inscription of Rājarājadeva of Chalukyan dynasty of Veṅgi (10th century A.D.), we get the following passage.

श्रीधाम्न: पुरुषोत्तमस्य महतो नारायणस्य प्रभो ।[38]

we therefore, trust that 'Śrīdhāma' was a religious centre of Koṅgada and Kaliṅga called 'Śrīnivāsa', since the time of Sāmantavarman of Bhauma-saṃvat 64 (=800 A.D.) or before.

Mahārāja Sāmantavarman had issued a grant from Śrīnivāsa to Vājasaneya *brahmacārins* of Vatsasa-*gotra* of Saumyavana in *saṃvat* 64.[39] He was advised to make that religious charity to the *brahmacārins* who performed Vājasaneya-*yajña* at Soumyavana, a famous *tapovana* near the Mahendra mountain. We have already referred to a famous *tapovana*, called 'Dvaita-vana', where the Pāṇḍavas had taken shelter during their exile into the forest. From that place Yudhiṣṭhira sent a *vanecara* (messanger) to secure information from Hastinapura if any shrewd sagacity was being played by Durjyodhana through his diplomatic *Rājanīti* (politics). The following verse from Bhāravi's *kavya* may be cited in this regard:

श्रिय: कुरूणामधिपस्य पालनीं प्रजासु वृत्तिं यमयुङ्क्त वेदितुम् ।
स वर्णिलिङ्गी विदित: समाययौ युधिष्ठिरं द्वैतवने वनेचर: ।।[40]

In Puri, there were a few *āśramas* as we have stated before. One of the *āśramas* belonged to Mārkaṇḍa-muni forming a *tīrtha*, where stands the ancient temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara (Śiva). Probably, the great 'Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa' was written by a hermit who lived in that *āśrama*. A section of that Purāṇa is called Durgā-saptaśatī which narrates a story relating to goddess Durgā, who had killed the demon Mahiṣāsura. The story was told to a helpless and disgraced Cedi king, named Suratha, who took shelter in the forest where Medhā-muni was dwelling.

Not very far from 'Śrīdhāma' (Puri), there was a port-town called 'Palura' which may be identified with 'Chelitālo', mentioned by Huen-tsang in the 7th century A.D. Mr. Waddell locates it near Kendupātana village in Cuttack district. But, from etymological point of view the Chinese word 'Chelitālo' may be assigned to the lake 'Chilikā', which means a 'cut-piece' (of the sea) in Telugu language.[41] The Chilikā-lake was a natural harbour of Koṅgada-maṇḍala, where the ancient port town 'Pālura' was situated. It was connected to a forest called 'Nala-vana' in the Puri district.

From the middle of 8th century, the Śailodbhava kings were extirpated from Koṅgada by the Bhauma-karas who gradually extended their invasion from Karṇasuvarṇa to the Mahendra mountain. In Tekkāli-plates of Allaparāja, the last known king of the Śailodbhava dynasty, it is stated that he (Allapa) was engaged in warfare with his enemies whom he could defeat as found in the following verse:

दर्पोद्धतान् बलिरिपून् समरादुदस्य
संयम्य पौरुषघन: निजविक्रमेण ।
लब्ध्वा जयश्रियमदभ्ररिपुप्रतापात्
नारायणायितमिह क्षितिपेन येन ।।(42)

Although he could resist the pressure of his enemies, i.e. the Buddhist Bhaumakara kings, the final struggle was not favourable to Allaparāja. Therefore, to save life, he might have left his dominion and taken shelter in some far off island with his followers and family. This event took place in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

The migration of many such defeated kings of Kaliṅga to Java, Borneo, Bali, Sumatra etc. islands of Indonesia, the favourable islands of Hindu kings, took place since Śaśāṅka's regime in the 7th century A.D. One Mādhavarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty, therefore, used Śaśānka's epithet as the ruler of many islands situated in the four great ocoans:

चतुरुदधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानीलिमायां सद्वीपनगरपत्तन-
वत्यां वसुमत्यां गौप्ताब्दे वर्षशतत्रये महाराजाधिराज
श्रीशशाङ्क राज्ये शासति माधवराज: कुशली ।।(43)

10. CONTACT OF UTKALA WITH INDONESIA :

The religious system of the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* of Koṅgada and Kaliṅga was introduced in the islands of Bali, Java, Borneo etc. Many *Brāhmaṇas* and saints, who migrated to those islands had settled there under royal patronage. Most probably, a branch of the Śailodbhava dynasty, after revising the name of their family title as 'Śailendra', had subjugated and re-formed those islands. They did not change the ancient philosophy of Hinduism. They took their teachers and Agnihotri *brāhmaṅas* from their parental land for hegemony of religious institutions and temples in the newly acquired dominion called 'Śrīvijaya' or Suvarṇa-dvīpa.[44] The Sailendras of Śrīvijaya of the 8th century A.D., established a stable empire in the islands of Borneo and Java. Perhaps, a king named Jayavarman of Śrīvijaya had used the same name which his encestors at Kaliṅga used.

The scripts, found in the Funnan rock inscription of Jayavarman of Śrīvijaya and those of Jayavarman of Śvetaka-Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga are susceptible to comparison. The Sanskrit verses used by Jayavarman of Kāmboja (Cambodia), who was a worshipper of Śiva were not different from the verses used in Śailodbhava charters. Therefore, we believe that the Śailendras of Java and Cambodia and the Śailodbhavas and Gaṅgas of Koṅgada and Kaliṅga respectively, possessed close affinity with each other. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehuru had rightly observed in his 'Discovery of India'[45] regarding the early marine activities of the Indians along the East-coast, saying, "the huge status empires that developed from the original Indian settlements were essentially naval powers interested in trade and therefore, in the control of the sea-routes".

The Funnan Rock-inscription[46] reveals that Jayavarman's queen Prabhāvatī had built a 'Kūrmālaya' in that island. That inscription is written in Sanksrit which states that Jayavarman's senior queen was born in the 'Puṣpabhṛt' clan, which may be identified with the Puṣyabhūti dynasty of Kānyakubja. A passage from the said inscription is quoted below :

"श्रीजयवर्मणाग्रमहिषी स्वामिने (वक्षःस्थलम्).......
प्रभावती प्रेम-पुष्पभृत् कुलवर्द्धिनी.......
कृत्वा भूतमनित्यकैरवसमं.....
सम स तदा कूमा(र्मा)लयं ह (स्तदा) ॥"

Another epigraph, called 'Jūpa-inscription'[47] of east-Borneo states that a king named Mūlavarman granted twenty thousand milch cows to Agnihotrī *Brāhmaṇas*, who resided in that island. The following verse of that epigraph is adduced below :

श्रीमतो नृपमन्यस्य राज्ञ श्रीमूलवर्मणे ।
दानं पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे या[:] दत्तां विप्रकेश्वरे ॥
द्विजे नित्याग्निकल्पस्य विंशतिं गोसहस्रकम् ।
तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपोऽयं कृतो विप्रैरिहागतैः ॥

In the western part of Java, there are more inscriptions in which the *śaka* years are used. The dates had been mentioned as per the Hindu almanacs (*pañjikā*) of Utkala. The following Sanksrit verse, in flawless *chanda*, is mentioned in one of the epigraphs of Java which is almost similar with the Gaṅga inscriptions of Utkala.

शाके श्च(च)न्द्रगते श्रुतीन्द्रियरसैरङ्गीकृते वत्सरे
वीरेन्द्रौ(न्द्रो) धवलत्रयोदशितिथौ भद्रोत्तरे कार्त्तिके ।
लग्ने कुम्भमये स्थिरांशविदिते प्रातिष्ठपत् पर्वते
लिङ्गं लक्ष्मणलक्षितः नरपतिः श्रीसञ्जयश्शान्तये ॥
गङ्गोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गरञ्जितजटामौलीन्दुचूडामणि-
र्भास्वत्भूतिविभूतिदेहविलसन्नागेन्द्रहारद्युतिः ॥[48]

The said inscription mentions a date in the *śaka* year 654 (शाके चन्द्रगते श्रुतीन्द्रियरसैः), which corresponds to 732 A.D. The Sanksrit verse is composed in Sragdharā-*chanda* (metre). Here the technical terms, such as *'rasa'* for six, *'indriya'* for five and *'śruti'* for four indicate the dates, which should be placed from the

right to the left, according to the system, used in the temple inscriptions of Kaliṅga and Utkala. The script, used in the said inscription, belongs to the 'Box-head' character, generally used in Kaliṅga and Madhya Bhārata in the charters of Early Gaṅga kings and Sarabhapuriyans and Pāndu-vaṃśī kings respectively, whose ruling period has been attributed to the 7th or 8th century A.D. After Hastivarman of Kaliṅga and Tīvaradeva of Madhya Bhārata, the box-headed script was discontinued. It is interesting to note here that among the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions found in Java, the famous one belongs to the 3rd century A.D. From that epigraph it is learnt that many *paṇḍits*, proficient in *smṛti-śāstras* had migrated from the coastal regions of India to those islands, when the Kuśāṇas were dominating in Utkala. The had introduced marine activities and had contacts with foreign islands. After the Kuśāṇas, the Gupta governors of Utkala had established their suzerainty in those islands. Dr. D.C. Sircar states that the script used in the inscriptions at those islands, belongs to the "Pallava-grantha" character of the archaic varity".[49] While writing on the stone inscription of king Sañjaya (Canggal inscription of Śaka 654 =732 A.D.), Mr Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, states, "The Canggal inscription, at any rate, has several points of difference from the West-Javanese script; while there are many points of agreement with what Buhler calls the 'Middle-Grantha' of southern India. It is not unreasonable to presume with the data at our disposal that the script of Canggal epigraph may be independntly derived from the Andhra-Kaliṅga region, introducing at the same time some local innovations into it."

There is little doubt regarding the frequency of migration of people from Kaliṅga to those islands and vice-versa. We believe that among the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* who settled in those foreign countries, some of their successors had returned back to Utkala, the land of their fore-fathers, although the *Brāhmaṇas* who resided in the *śāsanas* of Utkala did not accept them to their ethnic fold. They were called '*Śāka-dvīpī*' (inhabitants of Śāka-dvīpa). Therefore, in the gradation of *brāhmaṇas*, their profession was confined within *vaidya* and *gaṇaka* (astronomy and astrology). Some more *Brāhmaṇas* who returned later were called '*devalaka*' i.e. the *pūjakas* or *paṇḍās* who served in the Hindu temples. The *paṇḍās*

were appointed in the temple of Lingarāja and that of Śrī-Jagannātha at Puri. In no other province except Orissa, we notice a *Brāhmaṇa*, called, 'Śāka-dvīpī', *'devalaka'* and *'paṇḍā'*, whose ancestors, although Agnihotrīs and well versed in *vedas* and *smṛti-śāśtras*, had travelled in the ocean to the foreign islands to save their religious sanctity from aggressive Non-Hindu kings, viz. the Hūṇas and Yavanas.

The *Pūjā-paṇḍās* who had been engaged in all the *'pūjā-prakaraṇas'* (adorations) of Śrī-Jagannātha and Śrī Balabhadra were designated as 'Viṣṇuśarmā' and 'Agniśarmā' respectively. These two names were mentioned in the Kharosandā copper-plate grant by Visākhāvarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga.(50) They belonged to the Ātreya-*gotra*. We presume that those *Brāhmaṇas* might have gone to Java where they might have settled in or about the 4th century A.D. Their descendants were entitled to those ancestral names, 'Viṣṇuśarmā' and 'Agniśarmā', even after ages. A branch of those *Brāhmaṇas* who returned back to Orissa from Java, might have used the same titles - Viṣṇuśarmā and Agniśarmā, the two pūjā-paṇḍās of Śrī-Jagannātha and Śrī Balabhadra as recorded in the 'Jagannātha-sthala-vṛttāntam'. They were appointed in the Śrī-mandira by the kings of Utkala. The *paṇḍās* of Śrī-Jagannātha temple should follow *brahmacarya* and learn the system of *pūjā-prakaraṇa* from a qualified teacher (*guru*) after performance of *upanayanaṃ*. Thus, they possessed an upper grade among others who migrated from foreign islands and sank to lower level of Vedic class of *Brāhmaṇas.*

11. REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN UTKALA :

In 736 A.D. the kingdom of Koṅgada was subjugated by the Buddhist kings of Bhaumakara dynasty. The first known king of that dynasty was Unmatta Keśarī who is supposed to have introduced a separate era called *saṃvat* (Bhauma *saṃvat*) in 736 A.D. One of his subordinate kings, named Jayavarmadeva who belonged to the Śvetaka-Gaṅga dynasty, had issued a grant to a *Brāhmaṇa* called Nannaṭa, after obtaining permission from Unmatta Keśarī who was in Virajā (Jajpur). Jayavarman granted a village to Nannaṭa in Vartinī-viṣaya of Koṅgada-maṇḍala in *saṃvat* 50 (=786 A.D.).(51)

Unmatta Keśarī's capital was called Virajānagara which may be identified with Jajpur in the Cuttack district. He allowed his subordinate king Jayavarman to grant a village to Nannaṭa-śarmā, who was a physician of Koṅgada-maṇḍala in Vartinī-viṣaya (identified with the Vartini village of Khalikot P.S.). The Bhaumakara kings had established a number of Buddhist monasteries near their capital at Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack district. We presume that the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* were not allowed to receive land grants in the dominion of Bhaumakara kings in the 8th century, for which reason Jayavarman had to obtain special permission for granting a village to a physician *Brāhmaṇa* of *śākadvīpī* clan. Therefore, after Harṣavardhana's arrival at Koṅgada-maṇḍala, when Buddhism received royal support, the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* had to seek shelter in far off islands viz. Java, Bali, Sumatra, Borneo, Cambodia etc., as we have stated before. Although the Bhaumakara kings were staunch *Bauddhas* in the 8th century and used the titles of *'Parama-saugata'* and *'Parama-tathāgata*, in the subsequent age, they adopted Śaivism and used the title of *'Parama-māheśvara'*. Some of the queens of that dynasty were also called '*Parama-vaiṣṇavīs*'.

When Buddhism was on the line of resurrection, a Buddhist philosopher and saint named Dharmakīrti was living in Kaliṅga to propagate Buddhism. He was the author of Nyāyavindu and many canonical Buddhist works. According to Rev. S. Beal, he propagated Buddhism and defeated Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the champion of sacrificial religion. He also converted the Jainas into Buddhism and tried to bring back Kaliṅga into the Buddhist fold. But the condition of Toṣāli was not like so, during the early and medieval age (the 8th century A.D.). The Mahāyāna philosophy was so widely spread that a Chinese emperor Te-tsang, had sent a massengar to Śubhākara-keśarī, the king of 'Wu-cha' (Odisa), for despatching a Buddhist scholar named Prajñā, to his court. Prajñā proceeded to China in the last decade of the 8th century. He presented to the emperor Tet-sang, the 'Gaṇḍavyūha-Avataṃsaka', written by him in Sanskrit, which was later translated to Chinese language. In a catalogue of Yuan-chao's works, preserved in Japan, it is stated that Prajñā was living in a Buddhist monastery at Wu-cha (Odisa) and he wrote the 'Saṭ-pāramitā-sūtra'.[52]

12. WORSHIP OF THE FOUR-ARMED VIṢṆU :

The date of Indravarman of the Śvetaka-Ganga dynasty is assigned to c. 900 A.D. He was the earliest known king of Utkala who worshipped both Viṣṇu, named Loka-mādhava and Śiva named Svayambhakeśvara in two temples. According to his Sanakhemundi plates,[53] he granted a half portion of Bheṭisingi (Bheṭhiśṛṅga) village and half of Poḍuṇi village, for maintainance of the twin-temple in which Lokamādhava (Viṣṇu) and Svayambhakeśvara (Śiva) were installed. The first part, belonged to Loka-Mādhava, who was worshipped by his (Indravarman's) grandmother (*gosvāminī*) and the second part belonged to Svayambhakeśvara, who was worshipped by her first son, Śrī Gaṅgasvayambhū's queen Elā. The grant was issued by Indravarman who was an independent king of Śvetaka by using the titles 'Mahārājādhirāja' and 'Parameśvara', in the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna, which was a festival day of Viṣṇu called *"Dolotsava"*. In the same period, the Bhañja kings of Dhṛtipura (Baud) also worshipped Nīla-Mādhava in a similar twin-temple in which the temple of Siddheśvara (Śiva) was entangled.

The general conception of the image of Viṣṇu is that he possessed four arms and his vehicle was Garuḍa. But the figure of Gopinātha has two hands, holding Veṇu (flute) in both of his hands. Viṣṇu's important weapon was cakra (disc). So, he is called 'Cakradhara'. He is regarded as the supreme Lord of the universe with exalted power. In an inscription of the 7th century, a king named Mādhavarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty, is compared with 'Cakradhara Mādhava' (god) being a very powerful ruler of the whole Kaliṅga country. The relevant passage from his Khurdā plates is quoted below :

"......... सकलकलिङ्गाधिपत्य: सकलकलावाप्तकौमुदीव
जगतां प्रमद: प्रवृत्तश्चक्रश्चक्रधर इव भगवान् माधव:
श्रीमाधवराज: कुशली ।"[54]

From that inscripion we may assume that Cakradhara Bhagavān Mādhava was installed in a temple of Utkala which was located in the central part of Mādhavarāja's kingdom called 'Sakala-Kaliṅga'..

The image of Nīla-Mādhava (Cakradhara) holds *cakra*, *śaṅkha*, *gadā* and *padma* in his four hands. According to the *Śilpa-śāstra* the figure of Mādhava

should hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in his upper right and left hands and *padma* or *varada* and *gadā* in the lower right and left hands. A detailed description of different iconographic features of the Viṣṇu group will be given in the next chapter.

The great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama was built on an elevated platform, surrounded by some Śaiva temples, such as Īśāneśvara and Pātāleśvara, which might have been built in the time of the Śailodbhava kings or the later Bhaumakara kings, who worshipped Śiva, sometime after Bhauma era 100 (=837 A.D.).(55) It is interesting to note here that in about the second half of the 9th century, a successor of Śivakaradeva, named Siṃhadhvaja alias Rāmadeva, in his Banki copper-plates had issued a grant to one *Brāhmaṇa* of Vatsasa-*gotra* named Puruṣottama, son of Vāsudeva, who migrated from 'Kolañca'.(56) We get the earliest name of 'Puruṣottama' from this epigraph for the first time, even though it was used as the name of a *Brāhmaṇa* (donee). It indicates that the *Vaiṣṇava-dharma* and the god Puruṣottama were popular in Utkala in or before the 9th century, when that inscription was written. But, the later Bhaumakara kings adopted Śaivism since the 9th century, to which we may assign the period when many Śiva temples were built in Puri and Bhubaneswar.

It is not out of place to say that before the 9th century, the Hari-Hara cult had become a popular theme in Kaliṅga. The early Gaṅga kings who worshipped their family god Gokarṇeśvara on the top of the Mahendra mountain had also built a Viṣṇu temple by the side of Śiva temples. It indicates that the Hari-Hara cult was prevelant long before the temple of Puruṣottama was built in Puri. We have already mentioned before that the twin temples of Hari-Hara were built in the countries of Śvetaka and Khiñjili Maṇḍala of the Bhañja kings of Dhṛtipura, at Gandharābāḍi (Gandharāḍi). Similar Hari-Hara temples were built at Niāli-Mādhava by the Nāgavaṃśī kings of Utkala-deśa. From the Dāsgobā plates of Rājarājadeva -II we learn that the temple of Puruṣottama was lying neglected by previous kings, before that was built by Coḍagaṅga alias Gaṅgeśvara. The Somavaṃśī kings, being staunch followers of Śaivism, might not have paid attention to any Viṣṇu temple. However, Yayāṭīkeśari had built a small temple of Puruṣottama which was left in decayed position since his successore took no heed to re-build that Viṣṇu temple at Puri. But, a century later, Coḍagaṅgadeva had

selected a suitable site for an extensive platform which was protected by some old temples in its brim, from erosion of earth. In the centre of that elevated ground the foundation of the Puruṣottama temple was laid. A model of it, as per stipulation in *Smṛti-śāstra*s and *Śilpa-śāstra*s for construction of a Pañca-ratha type of Viṣṇu temple, must have been prepared with the help of the king's *Vaiṣṇava* pastor and an expert architect who belonged to the caste of 'Karmakāra'. From two epigraphical records, we find the names of Coḍagaṅga's *Vaiṣṇava guru* and that of the architect.

From a stone insctription lying in the compound of the Maharaja's college of Viziānagaram (Andhra Pradesh), we learn that in the *śaka* year 1016 and in the 65th Śrāhi of Coḍagaṅga, he granted one *puṭṭi* of land as Ācārya-bhoga to his *Vaiṣṇava guru,* whom he addressed as 'Śrīpāda', after the *guru* (ācārya) had returned from 'Gaṅgāsnāna' (the sacred bath in the river Gaṅgā) on the full-moon day of *kārttika.*(57) The corresponding date of that inscription is 1139 A.D. Most probably, the said *ācārya* was consulted regarding the detailes of the Viṣṇu-shrine to depict on the outer walls of the proposed temple. Coḍagaṅga also appointed an expert architect, named Palla who belonged to the *karmakāra* caste, to prepare a model of the great temple. An inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple (No. 43) states the following :

"नवपुरुषोत्तमनिलयस्य करमकार कुलपुत्र पल" etc.

In that inscription he (Palla) also records his donation of *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* (perpetual lamp) in favour of Śrī-Puruṣottama.

From the above epigraphs, we may sum up that in the 65th *śrāhi* (1139-40) A.D. of Coḍagaṅgadeva, he appointed his *guru* (Śrīpāda) and the Karmakāra Palla to prepare a plan of the great temple of Śrī-Puruṣottama in Puri. It was done before he handed over the ruling power to his son, Kāmārṇavadeva after performing his *abhiṣeka* (coronation) as *'yuvarāja'* in 1142 A.D. during his presence at Śrī-kṣetra (Puri). The construction of the great Puruṣottama temple might have been then started.

The system and process of building a temple, is in accordance of a plan or model which guides the architects in their work. At first they place cut-stones from the plinth, layer upon layer till it reaches the top, filling the gap inside with sand at each stage to keep the building undisturbed. Then, according to the diagram, prepared by an expert in consultation of *guru*s, the artists display different designs on stones for exhibition. But, no stone is to be left blank or filled with utopian visionary.

The Candraśekhara temple on a hill near Jāgamaṇḍā village in Gunupur *tahsil* of Koraput district gives a clear idea of the above system. The said temple was left unfinished for some unknown reason after it was built and some marks only were left. Even the unfinished 'Sūrya-mandira' in the premises of the Jagannath temple at Puri will prove how the smoothly dressed stones were put from its bottom by layers and the carvings were shown from its plinth to the middle of the walls only.

The great Jagannātha temple of Purī which has been deplastered by the Archaeological Survey of India, upto the height of 73 feet from its surrounding floor level, has now brought to light several shrines depicting the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa such as, Kṛṣṇa's amorous play with Gopīs, lifting up the Govardhana mountain, killing the Dhenukāsura, Vakāsura, Aghāsura, Śaṇḍhāsura, his going to Mathurā in a chariot with brother Balarāma, dancing upon the hood of Kālīya in the Yamunā etc. We may get more evidence if the remaining top portion of the temple is deplastered. Apart from the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*, we notice the shrines of Brahmā and Ṛṣis including the figures of Dikpālas (the divine guards of eight directions). The twenty four figures of Viṣṇu are shown in miniature niches. It is interesting to notice that Vanśīdhārī Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and cowherd boys are nicely depicted. Near that scenery, a kings' *darbar* with courtesans and ladies are shown in the *anurāhā-pāga* of the temple. There also, a *guru* is sitting to preach the Bhāgavata to his disciples.

The glorious workmanship of the great temple of Lord Jagannāth indeed surpasses the architectural technique and art of the Lingarāja temple which is almost equal in majestic grandeur with the Jagannātha temple of Puri. Although,

the name of Puruṣottama had become familiar in the 9th century in Utkala, his iconographic description in the *śilpa-śāstras* differs from the figure of Mādhava, who, in the later age was regarded as Puruṣottama. From epigraphical sources we know that Śrī-Puruṣottama became a popular deity whose devotees adored him before the 9th century A.D. In the Banki copper plate inscription of Siṃhadhvaja alias Rāmadeva of Bhaumakara dynasty, we have stated before that Śrī-Puruṣottama had become a popular deity in Utkala. According to the 'Bhagavad-Gītā'(11.38), Śrī-Puruṣottama was described as the omnipotent and supreme god, to whom Arjuna prayed as follows:

पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य
त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।
न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो
लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमप्रभाव: ।।(58)

It means; 'you are the father, and the greatest of this animate and inanimate creation. 'O' the great possessor of incomparable glory, in all the three worlds, there is none else equal to thee. How can any one be superior ?'

The names of Puruṣottama and Jagannātha, in the later age, were used for Jina Ṛṣabhadeva by Mānatunga in the 9th century and for Buddha by Indrabhūti in about the same period. We presume that the god Mādhava was entitled as 'Puruṣottama' and 'Jagannātha' in the 13th century A.D.

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, however, mention is made that Ṛṣabhadeva (Jaina *Tirthaṅkara*) was one of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu belonging to the Hindu pantheon like the Buddha. Mānatunga, a Jaina of the 8th or 9th century, sings in his work Bhaktāmara-stotra, a hymn in praise of Ṛṣabhadeva who was 'extolled as the incomparable saint, set on a level with the highest deities and his name is invoked for protection in all perils.'

M. Winternitz, translates the 25th verse from Mānatunga's said work as follows :

Thou art Buddha, because the gods
Praise the awakening of thy mind;
Thou art Śankara, because thou workest
out of the salvation of the three worlds;
Creator art thou, because through thy doctrine
thou hast created a path way to salvation;
Thou, O' Lord, art Purusottama,
the heighest of all the beings."(59)

It is, therefore, evident that Ṛṣabhadeva (the Jaina Tirthaṅkara) was regarded as Puruṣottama, the highest of all the beings. Similarly, Buddha was honoured as Jagannātha, the lord of the world. We may assume that the figure of Mādhava, who had been adored since the 7th century in Utkala, was popularly called Puruṣottama in the 10th century, but from iconographical point of view His figure was not quite similar to what was described in the *śilpa-śāstra*.(60) After the 13th century, Lord Puruṣottama was widely known as Jagannātha, when His figure took the shape of autochthonous model of deity,(61) ever since the aboriginals were appointed as *Dayitā* and *Śuddha-savara* in the *Śrīmandira*. We have already explained about the circumstances under which the kings of Utkala had undertaken such a great reform due to some unavoidable scheme of strategy.

13. THE ICON OF VIṢṆU (PURUṢOTTAMA) :

The earliest known Viṣṇu image in Utkala is Cakradhara Mādhava. A Sailodbhava king named Mādhavarāja, who was compared with the god Cakradhara Mādhava in a copper-plate inscription, ruled in Koṅgada-maṇḍala in the first half of the 7th century A.D. The passage of his Khurda plates is quoted below :

"........शैलोद्भवान्वयाय ..... नतसकलकलिङ्गाधिपत्य:
सकलकलावाप्त[कौमुदीव] जगतां प्रमद: प्रवृत्तश्चक्रश्चक्रधर
इव भगवान् माधव: श्रीमाधवराज: कुशली"(62)

Mādhavarāja claims that he ruled the country of Sakala-kaliṅga. But, the main part of the his kingdom was called Koṅgada-maṇḍala which was confined to the modern district of Puri including the northern half of Ganjam district and the

southern strip of Cuttack district upto the Mahanadi river. The capital of Koṅgada was situated on the bank of a river called Sālimā, which may be identified with the modern Sālia rivulet, which flows by the side of Bāṇapur in the Puri district.

Although, the Sailodbhava kings of Koṅgada-maṇḍala were devoted worshippers of Śiva, the god Cakradhara Mādhava was also honoured by them. The icon of the four armed Viṣṇu has been defined in several *Purāṇas* and canonical works, such as the Matsya Purāṇa.[63] Agni Purāṇa.[64] Padma Purāṇa.[65] Vṛhat-samhitā (by Varāhamihira),[66] Visnu-Dharmottara Purāṇa[67], Caturvarga-Cintāmani (by Hemadri),[68] Mānasāra, Devamūrti-prakaraṇa (by Sūtradhara Manḍana) etc. The last work together with the Pātālakhaṇḍa of Padma Purāṇa of the 15th century explains about the twenty four types of four-armed Viṣṇu's figure, each with his *āyudhas*, as enumerated in the following chart :

Name of the Images	Upper Hands Right	Upper Hands Left	Lower Hands Right	Lower Hands Left
1. Keśava	Śaṅkha	Cakra	Gadā	Padma
2. Nārāyaṇa	Padma	Gadā	Cakra	Śaṅkha
3. Mādhava	Cakra	Śaṅkha	Padma	Gadā
4. Govinda	Gadā	Padma	Śaṅkha	Cakra
5. Viṣṇu	Padma	Śaṅkha	Cakra	Gadā
6. Madhusūdana	Śaṅkha	Padma	Gadā	Cakra
7. Trivikrama	Gadā	Cakra	Śaṅkha	Padma
8. Vāmana	Cakra	Gadā	Padma	Śaṅkha
9. Śrīdhara	Cakra	Padma	Śaṅkha	Gadā
10. Hṛṣīkeśa	Cakra	Gadā	Śaṅkha	Padma
11. Padmanābha	Padma	Śaṅkha	Gadā	Cakra
12. Dāmodara	Śaṅkha	Gadā	Cakra	Padma
13. Saṅkarṣaṇa	Śaṅkha	Padma	Cakra	Gadā
14. Vāsudeva	Cakra	Śaṅkha	Gadā	Padma
15. Pradyumna	Śaṅkha	Cakra	Gadā	Padma
16. Aniruddha	Gadā	Śaṅkha	Padma	Cakra

17. Puruṣottama	Padma	Śaṅkha	Gadā	Cakra
18. Adhokṣaja	Gadā	Śaṅkha	Cakra	Padma
19. Narasiṃha	Padma	Gadā	Śaṅkha	Cakra
20. Acyuta	Padma	Cakra	Śaṅkha	Gadā
21. Janārdana	Cakra	Śaṅkha	Gadā	Padma
22. Upendra	Gadā	Cakra	Padma	Śaṅkha
23. Hari	Cakra	Padma	Gadā	Śaṅkha
24. Śrī-kṛṣṇa	Gadā	Padma	Cakra	Śaṅkha

Those twenty four types of Viṣṇu images are also depicted in twenty-four miniature *Pīḍhā-deulas* just above the *khākharāmuṇḍis* of *tala-jaṅghā* on the outer wall of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. They are now discovered after a portion of the great temple was deplastered. Dr. G.C. Chauley states: On both sides of each Pārsvadevatā shrines in the outer wall, figures of Viṣṇu, four on either side, is carved depicting the 24 forms of Viṣṇus, such as Keśava, Mādhava, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu etc. It proves that the icon of those images including Puruṣottama, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu etc. was not unknown to *paṇḍits* under whose direction the temple was built. If so, the question arises as to why the image of Śrī-Puruṣottama was not built as per the stipulation of the *śāstras* ? This mysterious event may be solved if the name Puruṣottama was used as a common designation of all the different forms of Viṣṇu. Therefore, He was also called 'Jagannātha', the supreme Lord of the universe, in the later age.

The Hindu images of Viṣṇu were built according to the description given in *Saṃhitās* and *Purāṇas*. In case of any little distraction or deviation from the prescribed rule of the *śāstras*, the image is not accepted for worship. Therefore, it is easy to identify any one of the four armed Viṣṇus from His twenty four names, as stated above, through the weapons which He holds in the upper and lower hands, right and left respectively. Basing on this analogy many Viṣṇu images of Utkala are identified with Mādhava who holds *cakra* (disc) and *śaṅkha* (conch) in His upper right and left hands and Gadā (club) and Padma (lotus) in lower left and right hands respectively.

The type of Viṣṇu image called 'Nīla-Mādhava' were installed in the temples

near the Mahanadi at Gandharāḍi and Kanṭilo. After extinction of the Sailodbhava dynasty from Koṅgada, the Buddhist kings of Bhaumakara dynasty merged Koṅgada-maṇḍala in Dakṣina-Tosalī. They also changed the capital from the bank of the Sālimā river to Guheśvara-pāṭaka near the Vaitaraṇi. Their subordinate Bhañja kings ruled in Khiñjali-maṇḍala of Dakṣina-kosala. Previously, those Bhañja kings were the worshippers of Śiva using the title of '*Parama-māheśvara*'. But, in the 10th century they adopted Vaiṣṇavism, when they used to worship both Śiva (Bhairava) and Viṣṇu (Mādhava) along with Stambheśvarī (goddess). Therefore, the cult of Hari-Hara became popular in Dakṣina-kośala. We have already stated that a Śvetaka-Gaṅga king had built a twin temple at Gandharāḍi near the Mahanadi where he had installed Nīla-mādhava (Viṣṇu) and Siddheśvara (Śiva), on one platform.(69) In the subsequent period, probably a Somavaṃśī king had built another twin temple at Kanṭilo on the bank of the Mahanadi where also Viṣṇu (Nīla-mādhava) and Siddheśvara (Śiva) were installed.

According to Dr. H.V. Stietencron, 'the idea of building twin temples and the concept of Hari-Hara cult had become extremely important in the history of Orissan religion as it provided the basis for the Jagannātha trinity - which was developed in the Gaṅga period and consisted of the juxtaposed gods Viṣṇu (Jagannātha, Kṛṣṇa) and Śiva (Balabhadra, Saṅkarṣaṇa) together with a common Śakti (Subhadrā, Kātyāyanī).(70)

The image of Mādhava in Orissa was called Puruṣottama although His feature differs from that of the iconographic rule of Puruṣottama, who should hold *padma* and *śaṅkha* in His upper hands and *cakra* and *gadā* in lower hands as per the image pattern mentioned above (vide Sl. No. 17). Therefore, we believe that Puruṣottama was used as a common title not only for Mādhava but also for Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabhadeva. The Mādhava images of Puri town and suburbs, such as Nīla-Mādhava of Caurāsi, Mudgala-Mādhava of the Prachi valley, Śveta-Mādhava and Matsya-Mādhava of Purī Alālanātha etc. may be cited as examples. Among them the earliest is Mudgala-Mādhava, the figure of which might have been installed by a king of Mudgala dynasty in or about the 5th or 6th century A.D. A copper-plate inscription, discovered from Erbang village of Puri district, belonged to Mahārāja Śambhuyaśa of the said Mudgala dynasty

in Saṃvat 165,[71] which may be the *Gupta era* and may correspond to 458 A.D.[72] From palaeographical ground the inscription should be attributed to the 5th or 6th century A.D. Therefore, he must have ruled in Dakṣina Toṣāli before the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja of Koṅgada who issued a grant in the *Gupta era* 300 (=620 A.D.).

Another copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśa was found in Soro in Balasore district in which his *prasasti* is given as follows :

''मुद्गलकुलाम्वरेन्दु श्रीचूडामणि: परमदैवत वप्पपादानुध्यातो
महाराज श्रीशम्भुयशा: कुशली''[73]

Mahārāja Śrī-Śambhuyaśa, who is the crest jewel and like the beautiful moon in the sky of Mudgala family; who is a great devotee of god and follower of his father's feet, is well.

In Erbang (Kakatapur P.S.) plate, there is the mention of one Kannārḍhaka village in Antarakoṇa-viṣaya, which was granted to Bhaṭṭa Sarva-kuṇḍa, a *Brāhmaṇa* of Vatsa-*gotra*. The village 'Kannārdhaka' may be identified with 'Koṇaraka' of Puri district, which is not far from Kākaṭapur, the seat of goddess Maṅgalā from which place the *'Nava-kalevara'* party in search of sacred *dāru* (log) for Śrī Jagannātha image, starts. We, therefore, believe that 'Mudgala-Mādhava' was installed near Kākaṭapur by a king of Mudgala dynasty. The icon of that image is described by Dr. H.V. Stietencron as follows :

The most important and well preserved image is that of a four-armed Viṣṇu with large halo, holding rosary and conch in his front (down) hands while the other (upper) two hands rest on his companions *cakra-puruṣa* and *gadā-devī*.[74] Another image of 'Mudgala-Madhava' is installed near the Narendra tank of Puri, which possesses four arms holding *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in two upper hands and *varada* and *gadā* in the lower hands. Two ladies are standing on both sides. The figure is identically Mādhava, as found in the 'Nīla-Mādhava' temple at Caurāsi village of Puri district. If the image of Mudgala Mādhava is named after the title of that royal family, then, 'Sveta-Mādhava' and 'Mạtsya Mādhava' found in Puri town, might have been installed by the Svetaka Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Matsya kings of Oḍḍāḍi respectively.

The Padma Purāṇa and the Rūpa-maṇḍana have ascribed that the image of Mādhava should hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in his upper two hands (right and left) and *padma* and *gadā* in the lower two hands (right and left), although in some cases '*varada-mudrā*' is shown in place of '*padma*'. This type of Mādhava image is seen in the temple of Allalanātha at Brahmagiri (Puri district). That temple is supposed to have been constructed either by Anangabhīmadeva-III or by his queen Somalā-Mahādevī, since both were the disciples of *Śrī-Vaiṣṇava* teachers of south-India (Kāñcipuraṃ). They followed the Viśiṣṭādvaita order of Rāmānujācārya school and granted lands to their *gurus* for sustenance in Antarudra-*viṣaya* of Utkala. Those *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* were also bestowed power to manage the temple of Allālanātha. The said land grant was engraved by Somalā-Mahādevi. Both Anaṅgabhīmadeva and his queen visited the Arulāla-Perumal temple of Kāñcipuram in the Chingelpat district of Tamilnadu. From the two inscriptions, incised in that temple in Sanskrit and Tamil languages, it is disclosed that Anaṅgabhīmadeva, who dedicated himself as a '*Rāuta*' (servant) under the divine Lord Puruṣottama, had adopted the '*vrata-rāja ekādaśī*' after taking *dikṣā* from his *guru*.

The image of Allālanātha of Brahmagiri, is identically the same four-armed Viṣṇu, as is adored in the temples at Siṃhācalam, Tirupati, Śrīraṅgam and Guruvāyūrappan of south India. The only minor difference which we notice among the images of Mādhava in Orissa and those in south India, is that the former figure holds *varada-mudrā* (boon-giving symbol) by showing His palm open with fingers raised downward, while the latter expanding His fingers raised upward, indicating *abhaya-mudrā* (no fear sign).

The old Mādhava images of Utkala installed in the 6th century A.D. onward upto the 13th century, must be the same figure, called later by name 'Puruṣottama' after being installed in the Nṛsimha temple at Puri.

During the reign of Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅgadeva in Utkala, the influence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism gained superiority in the religious field. The old neglected temple of Puruṣottama was renovated and the rituals were relieved by installation of the trinity (Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā) in it. Those deities were made of stone in anthropoid form. Lord Puruṣottama represented the figure of

Mādhava, which as we notice in a small temple called Satyanārāyaṇa, might have been restored by Coḍagaṅgadeva. In the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, we find the similar anthropoid stone images of Śrī-Puruṣottama trinity, which must have been copied from the figures of the Puri temple, possessing figures of four arms with respective *āyudhas*:

चतुर्भुजस्य वक्ष्यामि यथैवायुधसंस्थितिम् ।
दक्षिणेन गदा पद्मं वासुदेवस्य कारयेत् ।
वामत: शंखचक्रे च कर्त्तव्ये भूतिमिछता ।।[75]

It means that those who wish prosperity should build the four armed Vāsudeva, holding *gadā* and *padma* in the right hands (up and down respectively) and *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in the left two hands (upper and lower respectively). This description differs from that of Padma Purāṇa (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) and Rūpa-Mandana as shown in Sl. No. 14 of our chart above. Regarding the Kṛṣṇa image, the Matsya Purāṇa writes:

कृष्णावतारे तु गदा वामहस्ते प्रशस्यते ।
यथेच्छया शंखचक्रे चोपरिष्टात् प्रकल्पयेत् ।।[76]

It means that in the Kṛṣṇa-avatāra, He holds *gadā* in the (lower) right hand and then *śaṅkha* and *cakra* may be shown in any of the upper two hands.

This figure of Kṛṣṇa does not tally with the above list (No. 24). In the later age when the image of Kṛṣṇa was revised into a two armed figure, then it held only *gadā* and *cakra* as described in the Visnudharmottara-Purāṇa and Padma-Purāṇa.

"एकवक्त्रो द्विबाहुश्च गदाचक्रधर: प्रभु: ।
देहविन्यासमपरं प्रागुक्तकीर्त्तितं हरे: ।।"[77]

The subsequent modification had not taken place even in the 13th century i.e. after the Skanda-Purāṇa was written. The Nīlācalanātha (lord of Nīlācala) is described as follows :

"तमम्ं नीलमेघाभं नीलाश्ममणिविग्रहम् ।
नीलाचलगुहावासं प्रणमामि कृपानिधिम् ।।
शंखचक्रगदापद्मधारिणं शुभकारिणम् ।
प्रणताशेषपापौघदारिणं मुरवैरिणम् ।।"[78]

In the Vişvaksena-Samhitā, there is a description about the four armed Mādhava image. The verse is quoted hereunder:

"सव्याधः पङ्कजं यस्य पञ्चजन्यं तथोपरि ।
दक्षिणोर्ध्वं यस्य चक्रं गदा चाधो व्यवस्थिता ।
आद्यमूर्त्तिस्तु भेदोऽयं माधवेति प्रकल्प्यते ॥"[79]

It means that He, who holds in the left lower hand *padma* and in the upper hand *śaṅkha*; and in the right side upper hand *cakra* and lower hand *gadā*, is perhaps an early image of Viṣṇu, called 'Mādhava.

The following *dhyāna* of Subhadrā is given in the 'Nīlādrimahodaya' :

"सिन्दूरारूणसुन्दराङ्गरुचिरां पाशाङ्कुशेष्वभय-
भ्राजद्धस्तसरोरूहां त्रिनयनां दिव्याङ्गभूषोज्ज्वलाम् ॥[80]

According to the later literary evidence, the image of Subhadrā, who holds a lotus in one hand and the *varābhaya-mudrā* in the other, should stay in between her two brothers Balabhadra and Puruṣottama. We quote the following verse from the Skanda-Purāna:

"तयोर्मध्ये स्थितां लक्ष्मीं सुभद्रां भद्ररूपिणीं ।
सर्वदेवारणीं पापसागरोत्तारकारिणीम् ॥
विकचाम्भोजवदनां वराव्जाभयधारिणीम् ।
कुङ्कमारुणदेहां तां साक्षाल्लक्ष्मीमिवापराम् ॥"[81]

It proves that the image of Subhadrā was not similar to the present form made of wood without hands. Even the latest writing, namely Nīlādrimahodaya of about the 15th century, the description of Subhadrā is that her lotus hands were hanging in both sides downward. The relevent verse is quoted hereunder :

"भक्तानामवनायैव तथा भद्राऽपि भद्रदा ।
अधोलम्बितहस्ताब्जा कुङ्कमाभा शुभानना ॥"[82]

Perhaps, Her two arms were supposed to have been merged in two sides of her body. This might be a later imagination.

It means that Her (Subhadrā's) body is reddish like the morning glow (*aruṇa*); she holds in four arms *pāsa* (noose); *aṅkuśa* (goad); *abhaya* (no fear) and *saroja* (lotus); she possesses three eyes and is adorned with heavenly dress. We have already noted that the icon of Subhadrā resembles that of Ekanaṃśā who is standing in between Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, as described by Varāhamihira as quoted below :

"एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेव-कृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।
कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्वहती ।।(83)

Her left hand should rest on her waist and a lotus should be in her right hand. But, the four armed Subhadrā holds in her left two hands a book (pustaka) and a lotus, while in the two right hands she holds *varada* and *akṣasūtra*:

"कार्या चतुर्भुजा या वामकराभ्यां सपुस्तकं कमलम् ।
द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणपार्श्वे वरमर्थिष्वक्षसूत्रं च ।।"(84)

The earliest revelation of the four-armed Viṣṇu image is secured from the Vṛhat-saṃhitā by Varāhamihira in C.5th. century as quoted below :

"अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद एको गदाधश्चान्य: ।
दक्षिणपार्श्वे त्वेवं वामे शंखश्च चक्रं च ।।"(85)

In His right side there is the *abhaya-mudrā* (up) and *gadā* (down) and in the left side there is the *śaṅkha* (up) and *cakra* (down). We find similarity in the figures of Mādhava of Utkala and Veṅkateśa of Śeṣādri (Veṅgaḍa Hill) in south India. Therefore, in the temple of Tirupati, they utter Nīlādrinilaya, Śrī-Balabhadra and born in Markaṇḍeya-Mahātīrtha in the 108 names of Veṅkaṭeśa, as quoted below :

"श्रीनीलाद्रिनिलयाय, श्रीवेङ्कटाय नम:
श्रीबलभद्राय, श्रीवेङ्कटाय नम:
श्रीमार्कण्डेय-महातीर्थजातपुण्यप्रदाय, श्रीवेङ्कटाय नम: ।।"

It denotes that there was some integral contact between Śeṣādrinātha (Veṅkaṭeśa) and Nīlādrinātha (Puruṣottama).

As regads Yayāti Keśarī-II, who is supposed to have installed Mādhava (Puruṣottama) in a temple of Purī in the 11th century A.D., we get no reliable evidence from any literary account except from a legend recorded in the Madalā Pāñji. It speaks that one Raktavāhu-*yavana* had arrived in Purī when the deities were removed to a far off place. After a pretty long time, king Yayāti Keśari had recovered them from near Sonepur and installed them in a temple of Purī.

In the early decades of the 12th century, there was a great fight between the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga and the Pāla kings of Bengal. In the time of Rampāla, the Somavaṃśī king Karṇakeśarī of Utkala was a member of the '*sāmanta-cakra*' (political confederation) of the Pāla kings of Bengal. Hence, the fight continued for several years, within which period the deity of Puruṣottama at Purī had remained uncared for without adoration. But, after termination of the fight, a set of trinity was probably replaced in that temple of Lord Puruṣottama (Mādhava), who after being removed from His seat, was called Satyanārāyaṇa and was placed in a small temple.

The figure of Viṣṇu in South India was similar to that of Mādhava, since the early medieval age. For example, in an old Tamil work called Śilpapadhikāram, He was described as is translated below :

"High on Veṅgaḍam's towering crest,

x x x

"The Red-eyed great one, majestic stands
in dress of flowery brilliance with garland bright,
one lotus (*padma*) hand with fearsome disc
(*cakra*) adorned and milk white conch (Śaṅkha) the other hold".[86]

Although the description of his figure is not complete for want of a *gadā* (club) in His hand, the figure of Viṣṇu is identical with His statue that is installed on the hill of Śeṣādri alias 'Veṅgaḍam'. It is curious to note here that a hill-range near Bāṇapur in Purī district, is called' 'Veṅgaḍa' where some ancient monuments of the 7th or 8th centuries are found. A few inscriptions are also lying scattered in the nearby forest of 'Puñjiāmā' which name was perhaps derived from the Telugu language, for a heap of images of mother (goddess).[87] From south Indian history,

we know that the chiefs of Bāṇa dynasty had ruled at Chitor district in which the Veṅgaḍa hill-range is situated. One Vijayāditya of that dynasty could extend his sway to the east. In the 9th century, a Cola king named Aditya-I, (871-907 A.D.) had subdued that region and had expelled the Bāṇas from that land. Thereafter, the Bāṇa kings might have taken shelter in Utkala near Bāṇapur, where the Veṅgaḍa hills are situated. Since the lands of Bāṇapur are not yet explored, the Salia river-valley, the Veṅgaḍa hill-range and Puñjiāmā, the history of ancient Mādhava worship at Bāṇapur together with the extensive forest tracts of Baudh and Sonepur are still hidden under obscurity. The image of Balabhadra or Saṅkarṣana is described in the Vṛhat-saṃhitā as follows :

"बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविभ्रमलोचनश्च कर्त्तव्य: ।
विभ्रत् कुण्डलमेकं शंखेन्दुमृणालगौरतनु: ।।"(88)

Balarāma should be carved as possessing a body as white as conch, moon and lotus stalk and holding hala (plough). His eye balls should be moving frequently in fringe owing to intoxication. There should be a pendant, hanging on one ear moving swiftly to and fro.

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa describes the four armed Balarāma as follows:

"पद्मं समुषलं कार्यं देवदक्षिणहस्तयो: ।
वामयो: सीरशंखे च करे तस्य सुराम्बुधि: ।।"(89)

It means that Balarāma should hold *padma* and *muṣala* (club) in his two hands up and down in the right side and *hala* (plough) and *śaṅkha*, in the other two hands likewise in the left side.

In Nīlādrimahodaya, the *dhyāna* of Balabhadra in His *pūjā-prakaraṇa* (system of worship) is mentioned as follows:

"नीलाम्बरं भूषणमाल्यशोभं
वन्दे त्रिनेत्रं बलमुज्ज्वलन्तम् ।
रिपो: प्रलम्वस्य विनाशहेतुं
रामं श्रीकृष्णाग्रजमीडे नित्यम् ।।
इत्थं ध्यात्वा देशिकेन्द्रस्ततस्तत्र स्थले पुन: ।
नीरगन्धाक्षतैर्दिव्यैर्धूपदीपसमन्वितै: ।।(90)

while worshipping Subhadrā in Bhubaneśvarī-*mantra*, Her *dhyāna* is read as follows

"सिन्दूरारुणसुन्दराङ्गरुचिरां पाशाङ्कुशेष्वाभय-
भ्राजद्धस्तसरोरुहां त्रिनयनां दिव्याङ्गभूषोज्ज्वलाम् ।
पीनोत्तुङ्गकुचां लसत्सुवसनां विम्बाधरान्तस्मितां
वन्दे श्रीभुवनेश्वरीं त्रिजगतामानन्ददां सर्वदा ।"(91)

After construction and consecration of the great temple of Lord Puruṣottama, the fame of Nīlācaladhāma in Oḍradeśa spread far and near. Then, the later Brahma Purāṇa described the glory of the country (Oḍra) and Puruṣottama as follows :

"तत्रास्ते भारते वर्षे दक्षिणोदधिसंस्थितः ।
ओड्रदेश इति ख्यातः स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदायकः ॥"(92)

x x x

यत्र तिष्ठति विश्वात्मा देशे स पुरुषोत्तमः ।
जगद्व्यापी जगन्नाथस्तत्र सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥"(93)

14. SRI PURUṢOTTAMA-JAGANNĀTHA'S ŚRĀHI OR AṄKA YEARS :

The trinity (Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa) was probably, for the first time, built in stone by Coḍagaṅga and they were installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple either by him or by his son Kāmārṇavadeva in the middle of the 12th century A.D. Coḍagaṅgadeva being a learned monarch should not have discarded the existing rules of *āgamas* while building the images. Hence, we assume that the figure of Mādhava (Puruṣottama) should have possessed the same feature which is noticed at the Prachi valley in Puri district. An inscription of the Nṛsimha temple (No. 44) mentions the names of Balabhadra, Puruṣottama and Subhadrā and also the name of one Mālākāra Jayarāja, who appears as a devotee of Śrī Puruṣottama in another inscription (No.17) of the same temple. That inscription mentions the 5th regnal year of Kāmārṇavadeva, corresponding to 1157 A.D. Hence, during the life time of the Mālākāra Jayarāja i.e., around 1157 A.D., the trinity should have been worshipped in the Nṛsiṃha temple. It is an interesting fact to note here that the *śrāhi* year (*aṅka*) of Śrī-Puruṣottama (god) has been recorded in an inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple (No.19) which was incised in the 15th *śrāhi*

of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, corresponding to 1223 A.D. While editing that inscription, Dr. D.C. Sircar, missed to read the number of Śrī-Puruṣottama's ***aṅka*** 73, which is clearly engraved in lines 4 and 5 of that inscription as follows :

L.4. "श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदे[व]
L.5. "......स्याङ्क 73------

If the above decipherment is accepted, then we should ascribe the actual date when the trinity was installed after being duly consecrated in the Nṛsiṃha temple, to the reigning period of Kamarṇavadeva. Fortuantely however, the 15th *śrāhi* year of Anaṅgabhīma-III was also recorded in that epigraph. This Śrāhi year corresponds to 1223 A.D. to which the 73rd *aṅka* year of Śrī Puruṣottam's installation might also have been reckoned. It may be taken as a strong evidence to establish that the three images were consecrated in 1150 A.D., just in the year when *mālākāra* (garland-maker) Jayarāja (*śreṣṭhi*) had received thirty-two *māṇas* of land in Madhupūrṇapura village, assessed with three *māḍas* (gold coins), for burning a perpetual lamp before the god Śrī-Puruṣottamadeva, from one Sūrapoṭu and his wife Nākāpā, belonging to Bhāradvāja gotra (No.17). Coḍagaṅgadeva ended his life in or about 1146 A.D. Probably, the stone images of Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were duly installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple by his son Kāmārṇavadeva in 1150 A.D., when his *śrāhi* year 5 was current.

We have discussed in the previous volume about our inference that the stone images of the trinity were changed into wooden structures sometime after the reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, when Lord Purusottama was also called 'Śrī-Jagannātha'. In an inscription of the Śrī-Kūrma temple, it is stated that in the reign of Śrī-Vīra Bhānudeva, in *śakāvda* 1231 (=1309 A.D.) Śrī Jagannāthadeva's *Vijayarājya saṃvatsara* (victorious year) 3 was current.

Most probably, the *aṅka* year of Śrī-Jagannātha was counted from each Navakalevara of the deities as His first '*Vijayarājya saṃvatsara*' (*aṅka* reckoning year). The following passage of that Telugu inscription is quoted below :

"स्वस्ति श्रीशकवर्षं वुलु 1231 यगुनेंटि श्रीजगन्नाथेदेवर विजयराज्यसंवत्सरं वुलु [3] गु श्राहि कन्य शुक्ल 5 यु गुरुवारमुन श्रीवीरंवाणु(भानु)देव जीयनंगारि वेहरणमुनंदु श्रीकूर्मस्वामिकि......" (Ll 10-13)[94]

Another Telugu inscription of the Siṃhācalam temple also records the *śrāhi* (*aṅka*) 13th of 'Śrī-Devādideva Śrī-Jagannātha' (Lord of the Universe) in *śaka* year 1241 (1319 A.D.), when the temple was under the management of one Mahāsenāpati Śaṅkaradāsa. The relevent passage of the said inscription is quoted below :

''श्रीदेवादिदेव श्रीजगन्नाथदेवर विजयराज्यसंवत्सरं वुलु 13 श्राहि रि(ऋ)षभ कृष्ण 11 यु पण्डितवारमुनांडु शंकरदास महासेनापति अधिकारमुन......''(95)

It corroborates that Devādideva-Śrī-Jagannāthadeva was no other than the god Śrī-Puruṣottama of Puri, whose *aṅka* year was reckoned in the Pātāleśvara temple inscription. Of course, the *aṅka* years of the god were not frequently used in the inscriptions, although it was counted from the date of installation of the trinity from about 1150 A.D. But subsequently, in the beginning of the 14th century, Śrī-Jagannātha's *aṅka* was perhaps counted after each 'Navakalevara' function, i.e. when the newly built wooden images were consecrated in Śrī-mandira.

On the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, the *Suniyā* festival along with Vāmana-janma (birthday of Vāmana) would take place, when the golden image of Vāmana, prepared by the official goldsmith, should be adored in the main temple. In Orissa, the *Suniyā* festival was a royal function of the ancient kings whose *aṅka*, viz. the number of his regnal year, should be engraved on gold coins minted in that year. That old system is now abolished after the Rājās lost imperialism. Consequently, the *Suniyā* festival of Śrī-mandira turned into the birthday ceremony of Vāmana by substituting a gold image of Vāmana in place of gold coin with impression of new *aṅka* year on it. In an inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple (No.11), we notice that Coḍagaṅga's 61st regnal year (*aṅka*) ceremony was held in the said temple with great pomp, when five gold *māḍas* were issued for installation of a perpetual lamp made of gold in favour of Śrī-Puruṣottama.

15. THE ICONIC FEATURE OF VIṢṆU BY THE LATER BHAÑJA KINGS:

In some copper-plate inscriptions of Coḍagaṅgadeva, the following description of the four armed Ananta-Padmanābha, whose navel produced a lotus with Brahmā, is mentioned:

"लक्ष्मीं निषेव्य मुडुराजकलङ्ककान्ति-
र्बाहाचतुष्टयचणं वपुरादधानः ।
प्रादुर्बभूव भुवनत्रितयं विधित्सु-
र्विश्वप्रसूतिजठरो भगवाननन्तः ।।(96)

It may be the image of Viṣṇu, called Ananta-Padmanābha, mentioned in his Korni plates, That image is found at the sacred tank called Indradyumna *puṣkarinī* and it differs from the iconic form of Mādhava. The Rupa-mandana and Padma Purāṇa describe the image of Padmanābha in a different manner, such as, in His upper right and left hands He holds *padma* and *cakra*, while in His lower two hands there are *śaṅkha* and *gadā*. Thus, there appear some variations in the image of Padmanābha (Viṣṇu) as prescribed in the *āgamas*. For instance, some Bhañja kings of Khiñjali-maṇḍala worshipped the four armed 'Nārāyaṇa' as their tutelary god, whom they invoked in some copper-plates as follows:

"यस्माच्चक्रगदासिशंखधनुषः श्रीवत्सतार्क्षावपि
द्योतन्ते दितिजाधिनाथवनिता वैधव्यदीक्षारतः ।
सोऽपि भक्तजनाय मोक्षफलदः श्रीभञ्जवंशोदभवान्
पायाद्वः कुलदेवता प्रतिदिनं नारायणो भूभुजः ।।(97)

But, the icon of Nārāyaṇa as mentioned above, differs from that image of Viṣṇu, who holds *padma* but not *dhanu* (bow). Therefore, the tutelary god worshipped by the Bhañja kings of Gumsur, in the later age, was Nārāyaṇa in the form of Rāma, the holder of bow; Therefore, a later *smṛti* writer, Buddha-Bhikṣu Paramahaṃsa-Parivrājakācārya, in his work entitled Vedānta-cintāmaṇi, had invoked Raghunātha (Śrī-Rāma) as the crest jewel of the blue-mountain:

"ओं नमः श्रीनीलशैलशिरोमणये रघुनाथाय"(98)

From Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadeva, son of Rāyabhañja and grandson of Vīrabhañja, it is known that his headquarters was located at Kulāḍa (near

Bhanjanagar of Ganjam district). He was at first a devotee of Śaṅkara (Śiva), but later became a disciple of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava school. The following verse is quoted from his inscription :

"तत्पुत्रो जयभञ्जदेवनृपति राज्ञां शिर:शेखर:
रूपैर्यो मदनोपम: क्षितितले दानैश्च कर्णोपम: ।
मानैश्चापि सुयोधनोपमगत: शक्रोपमो विक्रमै:
दुर्वारारि-कुरङ्गमारणहरि: श्रीशंकरे भक्तिमान् ।।
उक्तो वै पितृमातृपादयुगले श्रीवैष्णव: साम्प्रतम् ।"(99)

Jayabhañja granted Reṅgaraḍā village to a *daivajña* (astronomer) *brāhmaṇa* named Jagadhara, son of Paṇḍita Dharādhara, who belonged to Bharadvāja-*gotra* and was a student of Mādhyandina-*śākhā* of Yajurveda and who migrated from 'Paṭabāḍa-pāṭaka' of 'Kontarābaṅga-viṣaya' in Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli. The same donee Jagadhara and his father Dharādhara are recorded as donees in Kapoteśvara plates of Anaṅgabhīma-III, in 1230 A.D., who granted the village of Pāṭabāda-pāṭaka of Rābaṅga-viṣaya to *Brāhmaṇas.* The grant was made on the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse at Puruṣottamà-kṣetra.(100) From the inscriptions of Jayabhañja, who was a contemporary of Anaṅgabhīma-III, it is presumed that he might have been influenced by the *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* of Kāñcipuram, whom Anaṅgabhīma-III and his wife had granted a village in Antarudra-viṣaya for the worship of Allālanātha in the Purī district. The inscription of the Arulāla-perumal temple of Kāñcipuram was incised in 1224 A.D. Therefore, around that year, Jayabhañja might have been converted into *Śrī-Vaiṣṇava* faith and have built a temple of Nārāyaṇa near his capital Kulāḍa-kaṭaka. There is a small temple situated by the side of the temple of Satyanārāyaṇa in the premises of Śrī-mandira, in which there is a slab containing three figures of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā, called 'Ananta-Vāsudeva'. Those images are embossed in relief on that stone slab. The four-armed Kṛṣna (Vāsudeva) of that trinity, holds in His upper two hands *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in right and left sides respectively and in two lower hands, *gadā* and *padma* in similar sides. The Matsya Purāṇa states:

"कृष्णावतारे तु गदा वामहस्ते प्रशस्यते ।
यथेच्छया शंखचक्रे चोपरिष्टत् प्रकल्पयेत् ।।"(101)

In a figure of Kṛṣṇa, *gadā* is to be shown in His left hand, while *śaṅkha* and *cakra* may be shown in the upper two hands as desired by the devotee and even only two hands may be shown, if he so desires. The three figures, preserved in that tiny temple called 'Ananta-Vāsudeva', as depicted in a single slab, may be the specimen of the images before each was separately built for installation in the main temple of Śrī-Jagannātha. But the actual figures of the trinity of the 12th century is shrouded in haze, when we consider about the divergent views expressed in different *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* regarding the figures of Viṣṇu. According to Nīladrimahodaya, the *pūjaka* (worshipper) should invoke in his mind the imaginary figure (*dhyāna*) of Viṣṇu (Śrī-Puruṣottama-Jagannātha) in the following manner:

''प्रथमं चिन्तयेद् विष्णुं यथा तच्छृणु भूपते
निर्मलाकाशदेशस्थं श्वेताम्बुजनिभेक्षणम् ।।
शंखचक्रगदापद्मधारिणं वनमालिनम् ।
हारकेयूरकटकश्रीमत्कुण्डलमण्डितम् ।।
नानालंकृतिशोभाढ्यं पीताम्बरधरं परम् ।
सिद्धगन्धर्वदेवेन्द्रमुनिवृन्दनिषेवितम् ।।''(102)

It means that 'at first (the *pūja-pandā*) should imagine the figure of Viṣṇu, who stays at the clean sky possessing two eyes like the white lily' who holds *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* (in his four hands)' who is adorned with *vanamāla*' who is also adorned with jewels of different variety' who wears yellow garment and who is worshipped by the *siddhas*, the *gandharvas*, the *Devas* and the *munis*'.

Some scholars attempt to explain that the anthropomorphized form of the trinity was a combination of some symbolized figures. To establish it, Dr. Trilochanna Misra had placed his theory by refering to the *vāstu-śāstras* and *Purāṇas* which, according to him, were 'undoubtedly deficient in answering the stipulations regarding image construction'. In his opinion, 'the limbless or crypto-limbed figures which strike a balance between a non-descript and a suggested human form cannot be categorised as image'. We fully agree to his opinion; but his suggestion that the Jagannātha trinity is the symbolic manifestation, is not acceptable. In this regard Dr. Misra also refers to the opinion of a foreign scholar, C.S. Pierce to support his theory stating that, a religious symbol as a process of knowledge possesses aspects of the epistemolodgy and ontology. It helps us in

getting (i) an interpretative knowledge of the world, (ii) a meaning of life and (iii) a means of access to the sacred reality........'. Turning to the symbolic figures of the deities in the Jagannātha cult, he says that 'all the three criteria were fulfilled. They have made philosophers and saints think and think and the result is the body of interpretations of the dynamic world (*jagat*), its lord (*nātha*) and their relation."[103]

It is rather too hard to accept the theory into the history of Jagannātha cult, especialy in the iconography, summing up from *vāstu-śāstra* and *Purāṇas*. We wonder why hundreds of great scholars and philosophers of the past had failed to explain that important question of metaphysical symbolism of Jagannātha trinity and did not mention in their canonical works ?

We need not repeat our theory, what we have noted in our previous volume regarding the wooden structures of the deities of the temple of Lord Jagannātha in or after the 13th century A.D.

16. THE NEO TĀNTRIC PHILOSOPHY IN UTKALA:

The growth of Neo-Tantric philosophy had taken place in Utkala in a period, when a great revolution appeared in the religious sphere during the 9th century A.D. The Baudhas together with the Vedic *Brāhmaṇas*, such as the *Śaivas*, *Śāktas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* had received support from the kings of Bhaumakara dynasty. For example, we may refer to a copper-plate inscription of Sivākaradeva- II, discovered from Chaurāsi village of Puri district, which records the grant of a village called Kudrava in Antarudra *Viṣaya*, situated in Dakṣina Toṣali, to a *Brāhmaṇa*, Jallubhatta by name, who belonged to Katyyana-*gotra* and Vaisvānara, Kaṭha and Khilla pravaras and a student of the Ṛg-veda. The grant was made on the pious day of the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika*, which was a festival day of the Hindus, particularly the *Vaiṣṇavas* on the occasion of the rising of Viṣṇu from His bed after four months. Hence, the king Sivākaradeva[104] stated that, to gain the good result of dharma (religious merit) the grant was issued on that pious day to a *Brāhmaṇa*. The king's emblem was the figure of a bull, embossed upon a ring through which the plates were hinged. The king used the title of '*Parama-bhatāraka*' which indicates that he was a worshiper of Bhattaraka (Śiva)

From many other charters of the later Bhaumakara kings, we find that they established close contact with the *acāryas* of different schools viz. *Baudhas, Śaivas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* etc. In course of time that contact culminated into and formed Tāntric Śaivism and Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism, while some Hindu deities were worshipped by *Baudhas* and some Buddhist gods and godesses were also worshipped by Hindus. We believe that that was the period when the Neo-Tāntric philosophy had put a strong foundation in Utkala. While Dakṣiṇa Toṣali was enjoying political harmony through religious cooperation between the *Baudhas* and the Hindus, the Uttara Toṣali was advancing the Buddhist philosophy based on Mahāyāna school. A '*Rāṇaka*' of Yamagartta-maṇḍala named Vinītatuṅga, who was a a '*sāmanta*' (subordinate) under the Bhauma kara king had proclaimed on behalf of Śivākaradeva that a village called Kallāṇi was granted for maintanence of a Buddha image and for sustenance of '*bhikṣunīs*'. The inscription was dated in 149 *Bhauma-samvat* (=736 A.D.).

Long before the '*Tantrayāna*' was introduced in Utkala, the Tāntric teachers were associated with the aboriginal tribes who worshipped the goddess in a wooden pole.

According to the Mahābhārata (Virāṭa Parva); Durgā was called Vindhyavāsinī. She was fond of blood and wine. In the Vana-parva* it is stated that Umā and Śiva appeared in the guise of *Kirāta* and Kirātā respectively to test the strength of Arjuna.

The goddess 'Stambheśvarī' was originally worshipped by the Kirātas or the tribals of forest regions of Aṅga, Baṅga and Kaliṅga, where they used to cut men or women before the goddess. It was called 'Meriyā-Bali'. But, when the said goddess was worshipped by the civilized people of the plain area, they seem to have revised the process of their sacrifice, which they performed on the 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina* (Sept-Octo) by offering blood of goats and buffalos to the goddess. In this connection we may quote the following verse from the Kṛtyaratnākara:

"स्वमांस रुधिरैर्द्भैर्दैव्य तुष्यंति वै भृशम्।
महिषीछागमेषाणां रूधिरेण तथा नृप ॥
एवं नाना म्लेच्छगणैर्पूज्यते सर्वदस्युभिः ।
अङ्ग वङ्ग कलिङ्गैश्च नरै किं वज्ञरैः शकैः ॥"(105)

The system of 'Durgotsava' seems to have prevailed after the 'Devi-Māhātmya' was written as a part of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, at Mārkaṇḍeya-tirtha of Śrī-Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.

In between the two parts of Toṣali, the Bhañja kings of Dhṛtipura worshipped. Nīlamādhava at Gandharābādi on the bank of the Mahanadi. They also used the title of Parama-Māheśvara and constructed a temple of Lord Śiva called Siddheśvara in the same place. Their tutolery godess Stambheśvari was also worshipped by them. Thus, they patronized the cults of Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Siddheśvara (Śiva) and Stambheśvarī (Śakti).

In the 9th century A.D. a Bhañja king of the Ubhaya Khiñjill-maṇḍala, namely Raṇabhañja ruled the country for about sixty years within which period he used the titles of *Parama-Māheśvara* and *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*. He was also a devout worshipper of Stambheśvarī and Bhairava. He invoked Bhairava as follows in all his charters which he issued to *Brāhmanas*:

"संहारकालहुतभुग् विकरालघोर
संभ्रान्तकिङ्करकृतान्तनितान्तभिन्नम् ।
भिन्नान्धकासुरमहामहतातपत्रं
तद् भैरवं हरवपुर्भवतः प्रपातु ॥"(106)

In a copper-plate grant of Raṇabhañjadeva, newly discovered from Dholapur village near Baudh of Phulbani district, there is the mention of the donor Raṇabhañja entitled *Parama-Māheśvara* in his 10th regnal year. But, in his Tāsapaikerā grant of the 16th regnal year, he used the title of *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*, although he was a devoted worshipper of Bhairava (Śiva) and Stambheśvarī (Śakti). We, therefore, assume that the later trinity, Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu), Saṅkarṣaṇa (Bhairava) and Subhadrā (Stambheśvarī) might have been installed by Raṇabhañja of Dhṛtipura some time between his regnal years 10th and 16th. We attribute the ruling period of Raṇabhañja to the first half of the 10th century.

The flow of Tāntric Śaivism and Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism in Utkala might have influenced Coḍagaṅgadeva who established the trinity in the Nṛsimhatemple at Puri, before completion of the great *Śrī-mandira* by its side.

From a popular tradition regarding installation of the trinity and construction of the great temple, it is known that a *Brāhmaṇa* named Vidyāpati was sent by Indradyumna in search of the great god Nīlamādhava who was secretly worshipped in the dence forest by a Savara named Visvāvasu. But, the god disappeared immediately after Vidyāpati arrived there. This story takes us to Gandharābāḍi in Baudh where the earliest existence of Nīlamādhava, who was installed by the Bhañja kings is noticed. We therefore, presume that the same god was installed in Kanṭilo, on the bank of the Mahanadi, sometime after Yayāti-keśarī subjugated Utkala. The disappearence of Nīlamādhava means that his name was changed to 'Puruṣottama' when He was installed in Śrīdhāma (Purī) by Yayāti-keśarī-II, in or about the 11th century A.D. Therefore, iconographically His original Mādhava figure was retained unchanged. Subsequently, the name of 'Puruṣottama' was changed into 'Jagannātha' and He was described as 'Buddha' in the Oriya literatures of th 15th century.

The 'Jagannātha' name was used for Buddha before the 13th century in 'Uḍḍiyāna' (the present coastal region of Orissa) by Indrabhāti, a Buddhist saint; in his work 'Jñanasiddhi'. He invoked Buddha as follows:

''प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वदिनवराच्चिंतम् ।
सर्ववुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्यापिनं गगनोपमम् ।।''(107)

x x x

Dr. Winternitz states: 'Indrabhūti was a king of Uḍḍiyāna (Orissa). He was the father of Padma-sambhava, the founder of Lamaism. Prdmavajra, whose Guhyasiddhi has come down to us in Sanskrit, was a contemporary of Indrabhūti. All the secret rites of the *Vajrayāna* are described in it. Laksminkara, who in her 'Advayasiddhi' proclaimed monistic doctrine, called *Sahajayana*, was a sister of Indrabhuti'.(108)

All those later development of Buddhist philosophy had established a link with the country of Bhota (Tibet) ever since Nāgārjuna wrote a canonical work

on the process of *yoga-sādhanā* (austere practise). The practise of '*Vajrayāna*' was spontaneously advanced in Oḍḍiyāna region under the patronage of the early Buddhist monarchs of Bhaumakara dynasty. We have already mentioned that one Subhākara-Keśarī of that dynasty had sent a Buddhist scholar named Prajñā to the Chinese Emperor, Te-tsang at his request. Prajñā, is said to have transcribed the Gaṇḍavyūha-Avataṃsaka into Chinese script in c. 795 A.D.[109] Therefore, it is probable that Buddha was taken as one of the Avatāras of the Hindu pantheon even though he was a historical figure like Mahāvīra (Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara*), Some scholar's opinion is that Buddha and Puruṣottama had equal status in Hindu pantheon. Dr. Biswanath Banerjee assumes that the association of Savaras in the origin of Jagannātha, the elaborate system of Yoga or Haṭa-yoga principles, the presence of the *cakra* by the side of the three deities, promote one to find out a close relationship between Jagannātha and the system of *Kāla-cakra*, considered as the latest shape of Buddhism and an offshoot of *Vajrayāna*. This system was known in India in about the 10th or 11th century A.D. We can not admit that theory, especially when Buddha was represented as one of the Pārśvadevatās (side-gods) in the 11th century temples of Maṇibhadreśvara at Bhubaneswar and Nṛsiṃha at Puri, in which temples Lord Puruṣottama was installed as the principal deity. We believe that the Tāntric cult, which was mixed with Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism gave birth to the trinity, namely Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā which produced a new cult in Hinduism. We will discuss this aspect in the ensuing chapters.

The titles used by king Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III and his successors as Puruṣottama-putra, Durgā-putra and Rudra-putra, corraborate our view regarding the fact that the seed of Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism and Tāntric Śaivism might have been sown in Khiñjili-maṇḍala by the early Bhañja kings of Baudh. It is necessary to examine the circumstance under which the Buddhist Tantra had influenced the Bhairavacult, which was transformed into mysticism as stated in the Sādhanamālā. Tārānātha of the later age refers to a Japanese work about which M. Winternitz says, In Japan, where only the ***Mantrayāna***, and not the *Vajrayāna*, obtained a footing, the Shin-go sect takes its stand upon the Tantras'. He also says that, 'in the later *Tantras* we again find traces of Tibetan and Chinese influences and in

the case of some cults, it is expressly stated that they were brought from China or from Mahachina (Tibet). In the Tārā-tantra, Buddha and Vaśiṣṭha were described as great Bhairavas. Buddha was a form of Viṣṇu, who obtained the position of creator after His initiation into the *mantras* of Ugratārā. Tārā is Buddha's *śakti*[110] and a form of wisdom (prajñā).[111]

According to Tārānatha, the *yoga* and sorcery (*mantra-sādhanā*) were paramount in Buddhism in between the 9th-11th centrury A.D. The said Bhairava-cult received accolade in the entire western Orissa, starting from Navaraṅgapur of Koraput district as far as the Tel-Mahanadi valley. In a Śiva temple at Mohangiri near Madanpur and Rampur in Kalahandi district, we notice an old inscription on the wall of that temple in which the name of 'Canda-Bhairava' is mentioned. Also we notice on the floor of that temple some magical diagrams incised in bold figures. Not far from the Phulbani district, there is an old Bhairava (Śiva) temple by the side of a river named Kāli-gaṅgā. We noticed two stone inscriptions in that temple which reveal the name of 'Caṇḍa-Bhairava' and a king's name as 'Citra-caṇḍa' of Maudgala dynasty. Palaeographically, those two inscriptions are attributed to about the 6th century A.D. From the said district we secured a copper-plate in 1947 which records that a king called Tuṣṭikara,[112] was a devotee of goddess Stambheśvarī. The said inscription is also a contemporary to the stone inscriptions of the Mohanagiri temple of Caṇḍa-Bhairava. Hence, the Bhairava cult was a popular cult in the districts of Koraput, Kalahandi and Phulbani of Orissa since the 9th century, which had influenced a Bhañja king named Raṇabhañja of c.10th century. His dominion in Khiñjili-maṇḍala, was extended in the forest area of western Orissa. An old Bhairavī temple in Puruṇā-kaṭaka of Phulbani district is seen, where a rock is placed at the front of that temple. According to A. Eschmann, that rock was "representing the goddess, encircled by a *Śakti*, so as to look exactly like the Śvyambhū *Liṅga*, an arrangement which actually seems to call for an identification with Śiva-Bhairava'. It is however doubt-less that Bhairavī was the female *śakti* of Bhairava or Caṇḍa Bhairava.

The said Bhairava cult in the Viṣṇu-kṣetra of Purī took a different shape at *Śrī-mandira* only to restore that Tāntric convention. The goddess Stambheśvarī (*śakti*) was renamed as 'Ekānaṃsa'[113] or 'Subhadrā', the sister of Kṛṣṇa and

Balabhadra. She got a seat in the main sanctum of *Śrī-mandira*. In a separate temple in the premises of Śrī Jagannātha temple, the goddess Vimalā has been installed and is being regarded as 'Bhairavi', the female energy of Jagannātha (Bhairava') :

"विमला भैरवी यत्र जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ।
कात्यायनी चोड्डियाने कामाख्या कामरूपिणी ॥"(114)

The Bhairava figure is depicted as standing on one foot and is called 'Ekapāda Bhairava' in many temples. He has been called Ajaikapāda Bhairava. In the Tāntric literature, He is described as the central pillar of the world. Most probably, His female energy 'Stambheśvarī' (Pillar goddess) supports the universal structure. Hence, Subhadrā's iconic formation is like a *stambha* (pillar).

17. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND THE CULT OF LORD JAGANNĀTHA :

Before arriving at any conclusion regarding the cult of Śrī Jagannātha, we feel it necessary to give a short account regarding the development of Vedānta philosophy by eminent scholars or philosophers who extracted their doctrines, based on different annotations of the Brahma-sūtras or the Vedānta-sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. The *Sūtras* of the said work were the only authoritative sources of every school of Vedānta. But, since those *Sūtras* were expressed by catch words, these were susceptible to different kinds of interpretations. Hence, in the later period the philosophers had professed different theories depending on those unintelligible *sūtras* by Bādarāyaṇa.

In about the 8th century A.D., Ācārya Śaṅkara, the earliest commentator of the *Vedānta* philosophy, established the school of *Advaita-vāda* (monism) after preparing an illustrious *bhāṣya* (Commentary) on the said Brahma-sūtra. He also professed the *Māya-vāda* (theory of illusion) by elucidating his doctrine in the following words: "ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या" viz. 'Brahma' is the genuine truth; the world is unrealistic'.

The *Māyā* theory of Śaṅkara was advertently repudiated by several

succeeding philosophers. One of them was Bhāskarācārya, who alleged that his (Śaṅkara's) *Māyā-vāda* was a reverberation of *'Śūnya-vāda'* propagated by Mahāyāna *Bauddhas.* Bhāskarācārya's actual living time is not known, but M. Winternitz assumes that he, being the author of the *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda,* was vehementaly criticised by Udayana in the Nyāya-kusumāñjali. Hence, Bhāskara might have lived in 984 A.D.[115] We believe that his (Bhāskara's) time cannot be assigned before the 12th century. Probably, he was the same glorious scholar, who composed some high standard panegyric verses in the inscription of the Cāteśvara temple in Orissa. In that epigraph he extoled himself in the following verse:

"लोकाश्चतुर्दश न भाति यशो यदीयं
विद्याश्चतुर्दशा न तृप्यति यस्य बुद्धिः ।
मन्वन्तराण्यपि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्ति-
र्न्न म्लानिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोऽस्याः ॥[116]

Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra has translated the verse as follows : 'That well known Bhāskara is the poet of this (poem), whose fame is hardly contained in (all) the fourteen worlds, that there are; whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (all) the fourteen lores; that there are (and) whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (all) the fourteen aeons, that there are'.

Bhāskara was also the author of a Sanskrit drama named Unmatta-Rāghava, like the Anargha-Rāghava by Murāri Misra. We have stated above that Udayana had criticised Bhāskara for his theory of the *Brahma-parināma-vāda* or *Bhedābheda-vāda.* It is curious to find that the name of Udayana is mentioned as a *kāvi* (poet) in two inscriptions of Orissa, viz. the Megheśvara temple of Bhubaneswar and the Sobhaneśvara temple of Niāli village in Cuttack district. The royal *praśasti* in the said epigraphs was written by him. Palaeographically both the inscriptions belong to the 12th century, in which time Udayana was regarded as a talented *mahākavi.* From the verses composed by him in the said epigraphs we may quote the following verse from the Meghesvara temple inscription to prove the greatness of his poetic talent:

"विद्युत्पिङ्गलभाललोचनशिखिज्वालागलत् स्वामृत-
स्रोत: स्पर्शनजीविता: शवशिर: श्रेणी: शिवे नृत्यति ।
एको राहुरनेकतां गत इति त्रासादिव प्रेक्षता-
श्चन्द्र: सान्द्रजटाटवीसुरसरिद्दुर्गाश्रित: पातु व ॥"[117]

This type of allegorized ornate expression is found only in a few *kāvyas* of Sanskrit literature. We trust that he was not only an expert in the 'Nyāya-darśana' but was also a *Mahakavi* who wrote *kāvyas.*

Now, coming to our main topic relating to the growth of philosophy, we notice no prominent philosopher other than Śaṅkara who possessed great honour among the Hindus for about three hundred years until Rāmānuja arrived to climb the throne of Vedānta philosophy in 1027 A.D. Rāmānuja discarded Śaṅkara's *Advaita-vāda* and *Māyā-vāda* by strong arguments, in his Śrī-bhāṣya through which he established the theory of *Viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda* (qualified monism). His doctrine was also based on a different annotation of the same Brahma-sūtra by Bādarāyaṇa.

The followers of *Śrī-sampradāya* of the *Vaiṣṇava* school had whole-heartedly supported the revised version of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* Vedānta philosophy of their teacher. They followed the *Bhakti* cult (devotionalism). In the 12th and 13th centuries, two more distinguished philosophers, Nimbārka and Madhva propagated the said Bhakti directing their disciples in devotion to none but Viṣṇu. Nimbārkācārya advocated the Gopāla Kṛṣṇa or Gopinātha aspect of Viṣṇu.

Madhvācārya was also recognised by names of Ānanda Tīrtha and Ānanda Giri. From these titles (Tīrtha and Giri) it is quite clear that he was a *sannyāsin* or an itinerant ascetic. He wrote a treatise on Vedānta philosophy basing on the same Brahma-sūtras advocating *Dvaita-vāda* (dualism). Probably he made an attempt to compromise between Rāmānuja's *Viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda* and Nimbārka's *Dvaitādvaita-vada* which were based on the same *Bhakti* principle.

Bhandarkar attributed the life period of Madhvācārya in between 1197 and 1276 A.D.[118] Of course, it is hard to accept the latter view on the ground that Madhvācārya had followed the foot-steps of Nimbārka while preparing a commentary of the Vedānta-sūtra. Nimbāraka had written a comentary of the

Vedānta-*sūtras* entitled Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha, in about the 12th century. But the glory of Madhvācārya was enhanced when he wrote the 'Tattvasaṅkhyāna' in the 13th century, in which he rendered a clear picture of the Vedānta philosophy. Winternitz has rightly assessed his work stating that 'for him the Upaniṣad and the Vedānta-sūtra have got a religious value'. Madhva has merely succeeded in explaining the creation about which he tried to effect a compromise between the Vedānta with Sāṅkhya philosophy and the *Bhāgavata* religion.[119]

Both Nimbārka and Madhva claim that Kṛṣṇa is the 'Bhagavān-svayam'. He is the creator of all *'avatāras'*, being both *nirguṇa* (qualityless) and *saguṇa* (having qualities). In about the same period, i.e. 1205 A.D., one Śrīdhara Dāsa wrote an anthology entitled 'Ṣadūkti-karṇāmṛta', in which he praised Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā as his *śakti*. Nimbārka had also regarded Rādhā as the eternal consort of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. It is however strange to say that Rādhā's existence is nowhere mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṃśa and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in which Kṛṣṇa has been depicted as an important figure. The earliest revelation of Rādhā's role in epics is perhaps mentioned in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa.

The songs regarding Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's amorous play with Rādhā was frequently recited by the *Vaiṣṇavas* of Nimbārka school. Many *Vaiṣṇavas* of that period have created melody by composing songs and verses for advancement of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. Among them we may cite 'Kṛṣṇa-Karnāmṛta' by Lilāśūka Vilvamaṅgala, 'Gītagovinda' by Jayadeva and also Kavi Nārāyaṇa Bhatta's 'Veṇīsaṃhāra' drama in which he invoked Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā.

It is curious to note here that the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was revived in our country even by some Buddhist writers. In the 'Nirvāṇa-Tantra'[120] and the 'Kālivilāsa-Tantra'[121] (the Buddhist Tantras), Rādhā is mentioned as Kṛṣṇa's consort and Kṛṣṇa as the lover of Rādhā. According to the latter philosophy of Tāntra, Rādhā is identified with Kāli, the goddess. Most probably the growth of Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism has opened a new track in the philosophy of Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism. Just a little before the new cult of Jagannātha was introduced, the Tāntric Vaiṣṇavism had stretched its sway on the common masses of Utkala. At the same time Coḍagaṅga had merged that country with Kaliṅga after defeating

the Somavaṃśī king Karṇadeva at Yayātinagara. Then he shifted his capital, from Kaliṅganagara to Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka on the bank of the Mahanadi. There he found many *Brāhmaṇa paṇḍits* who had been appointed as nobles and administrators of that country. Those nobles were appointed by the previous kings of Utkala. Their service was indispensable for the smooth rule of Utkala. But, most of those *Brāhmaṇas* of Utkala were the followers of Śaivism and Śaktism and belonged to the school of Advaita philosophy, although a few had accepted Vaiṣṇavism. Coḍagaṅga had full confidence on the nobles of the royal court of Kaliṅganagara whom he could not eliminate from the newly formed royal court of Utkala and Kaḷiṅga. But, he noticed that most of them, who migrated from Kaliṅga were the followers of Vaiṣṇavism and belonged to the *Viśiṣṭadvaita* school. Hence, there occured disputes and differences between the nobles or Utkala and Kaliṅga on several issues relating to matters of religion and philosophy. Under such a difficult situtation, it is presumed, Coḍagaṅga, being a highly learned and powerful emperor, could hardly tolerate the dispute by sitting on his throne as a silent audio-spectator of their endless arguments on Vedānta. He might have devised a scheme to establish the usual norms of the polity as well as religion by adopting a new component type of cult and philosophy, to end the disputed principles of Vedānta. Being a perspicacious monarch he might have appointed three teachers to acquire *dikṣā* on Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Brāhmaṇism (Śaktism) as he had used the titles of *Paramạ-Māheśvara*, *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* and *Parama-Brāhmaṇya.*[122] At first, he blended the different cults into one cult in the name of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Before exploring this idea into action, he must have consulted his teachers belonging to the three schools (Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti) and have carefully studied the *Tri-kalpa Mīmāṇsā*, which was the original precept of Vedānta. Then he must have sat on the throne as an arbiter to solve the different problems which bewildered the *paṇḍits* of the north and south of his kingdom. Coḍagaṅg's great magnanimous power and scholiastic argument must have silenced those who stood to argue against his theory. The following passage of his panegyric quoted from an inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple will corroborate our above hypothesis:

"... परममाहेश्वर-विपक्षप्रतिवादि-वारणकेशरी, वि(त्रि)कल्प-
मीमांसाकलाकलापविवरणाभिनव जगदेकपूर्णावतार,सकलकाव्यकलामधुरालाप
[निपुण] कपटकालिदास, राजनीतिनवनिरूपण कलिकालावतार वर्णाश्रमोत्तारकोपा-
धिविदित श्रौतस्मार्त्तकर्मादृष्टदिक्पाल तनयावतार.."(123)

From this, we know that Coḍagaṅga was a devoted worshipper of Śiva; that he could like a lion fight with his elephant-like opponents in logic; that he acquired a good knowledge in the '*Tri-kalpa-mimāṇsā*' together with many other *darśanas*; that he studied the *kāvyas* exhaustively so that he could use sweet vocabulary with idealism having been a proto-type of Kālidāsa (the great poet); that he established a new type of *Rājanīti* (polity) and logic that befit to the (modern) age of *Kali*; that he bore the title as protectory of the '*Varṇāśrama*' and that he was an incarnated son of the *Dikpālas* to perform the stipulated duty ascribed in the *śrauta* (Vedic) and *śmārta* (the doctrines of Vedanta of the Śaṅkarācārya school).

It is clear that Coḍagaṅga was well-versed in philosophy i.e., *Trikalpa-mimāṇsā* and *Rājanīti* or *Nyāya*. Therefore, he might have suggested that since the schools of philosophy and cults were changed from time to time in accordance of the desires of Vedāntins or *gurus*, there was no harm if they were revised to establish harmony in the royal court as well as in the society as a whole. Coḍagaṅga being a *smārta* or the follower of *smṛti* (the doctrine of *Advaitavāda* by Śaṅkara) and a worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva) like his forefathers, in the course of time took *dikṣā* of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaktism from the respective teachers. This must have been done after having thoroughly studied the three parts of *Mīmāṇsā* (Tri-kalpa) namely *Pūrva-mīmāṇsā, Uttara-mīmāṇsā* and a later *Brahma-mīmāṇsā*. We assume that the third part of the *Mīmāṇsā* might have been produced by Murāri Miśra for which his name was associated in a popular anigma: मुरारेस्तृतीय: पन्था. It means 'Murari followed the third path'.

The compound word Trikalpa-mīmāṇsā can be explained thus. If we assume that there were three parts of the *Mīmāṇsā,* the first two parts by Jaimini dealt with *vidhi* and the correct exposition of the Vedic *mantras*, showing the path of emancipation of Brahmans. The earliest commentator of the *Mīmāṇsā-sūtras* was

one Śavara-śvāmin; whose time may be roughly assigned to the 1st century A.D. But, in the later times, when the Śāvarabhāṣya had become unintelligible, Baudhāyana wrote a *bhāṣya* in or about the 7th century A.D. Some scholars assign him as a resident of Kaliṅga, where he wrote a Dharma-sūtra and some *śāstras.* We get no trace of the *Trikalpa* or the third part of the Mīmāṇsā which is supposed to have been produced by Murāri Miśra. Most probably Murāri might have discovered that the ritual part of Mīmāṇsā should be explained more distinctly. Although, a Jain philosopher named Bhadrabāhu had written the Kalpasutra, a famous canon on religious affairs, it is separate from the Hindu philosophy. The true meaning of the word '*kalpa*' is ritual. So, the word *Trikalpa* might be assigned by three different parts of the Vedic formulas (*sūtras*), such as Śrauta-sūtra, Gṛhya-sūtra and Dharma-sūtra. We have already stated that the '*Brahma-mīmāṇsā*' of Bādarāyaṇa was the fundamental source of the Hindu (Vedānta) philosophy, that was produced by Śaṅkara, by Rāmānuja, by Nimbārka, by Madhva etc., within a span of five hundred years (from the 8th century A.D. to the end of 12th century A.D.). We may regard Murāri as a philosopher and poet, who must have lived in the contemporary period of Rāmānuja, when a change occured in Hindu (Vedānta) philosophy. M. Winternitz attributes the time of Murāri Miśra as 1050-1135 A.D.[124] But, some scholars have attributed him to the 12th century A.D. We believe that Murāri might be a synchronized philosopher during the time of Rāmānuja (1027-1137 A.D.). The influence of the said two great philosophers might have overwhelmingly provoked emperor Coḍagaṅga to culminate all the then prevailing dogmas into a single cult of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Before doing so, he must have smoothed the path of adoration of the three deities viz. Saṅkarṣaṇa (Balabhadra) as Rudra or Śiva, Ekānaṃsā (Subhadrā) as *śakti* and Puruṣottama (Mādhava) as four armed Viṣṇu,[125] jointly installed in the temple, upon a single Ratna-vedi. Before putting forth that conscientious new idea into action, he should have consulted with some senior *savoir faires* and teachers of different schools of religion i.e. Hindu, Jaina and Bauddha, as well as the Matācāryas (law givers) regarding his *'Nava-rājanīti'* (the new polity). To fulfill this object, he might have expanded the number of his courtiers of distinguished persons such as poets and philosophers. In this regard we may cite here an inscriptional evidence wherefrom the name of a *Mahākavi* of Kaliṅga is noticed.

He is Mahākavi Nārāyaṇa who donated a perpetual lamp in the Nṛsiṃha temple of Purī and whose wife granted some donations in the temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara at Purī in 1113 A.D. (Vide Ins. Nos. 1 & 2).

Mahākavi Nārāyaṇa was a 'Sudhīvara' and he was the author of the drama 'Veṇisaṃhāra'. The Veṇisaṃhāra has been quoted and referred to in manuals of rhetoric by Vāmana, Ānanda Vardhana, Ruyyaka (12th century), Nami (1068 A.D.) etc., but its reference in the Dhvanyāloka of about the 9th century seems to be a later interpolation. The reference by Śvetāmbara Jaina Nami, who belonged to 1068 A.D. may also be a later addition.(126)

Mr. V.M. Kale, while editing the said drama, suggests that the author's period may be assigned to the 7th or 8th century A.D. But, it is too hard to hold that view, for the reason that in an invoked verse of his drama, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa has described the amorous *Rāsa* play by Kṛṣṇa with his consort Rādhā, as quoted below :

"कालिन्द्याः पुलिनेषु केलिकुपितामुत्सृज्य रासे रसं
गछन्तीमनुगच्छतोऽश्रुकलुषां कंसद्विषो राधिकाम् ।
तत्पादप्रतिमानिवेशितपदस्योद्भूतरोमोद्गते-
रक्षुण्णोऽनुनयः प्रसन्नदयितादृष्टस्य पुष्णातु वः ।।"(127)

It means, 'May the successful attempt to pacify Rādhikā by the enemy of Kaṃsa, who followed her, as she, angered in sport, and walked off on the sandy bank of the Kālindi (Yamunā), giving off all interest in the *Rāsa*-dance and with her face sullied with tears, whose hair stood on its end as he planted his steps in her (Rādhā's) foot-prints and who was (finally) looked at by his beloved, then reconciled (her well-pleased), grant you prosperity'.

Although the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was introduced in the 10th century at Rajasthan and Gujarat, as per some epigraphical records,(128) the said cult did not reach Utkala before 12th century or at least the second half of 11th century A.D. We, therefore, assume that a few decades before Jayadeva, Mahākavi Nārāyaṇa might have written the Veṇisaṃhāra, in which drama he also expressed that Kṛṣṇa was no other than (god) Puruṣottama.

"अकृपणमति: कामं जीव्याज्जन:पुरूषायुषं
भवतु भगवन् भक्तिर्द्वैतं विना पुरुषोत्तमे ॥"(129)

In the last act of the said drama, the poet expressed that 'without *Dvaita-vāda*, the philosophy of *Advaita-vāda* in the devotion of Puruṣottama was futile. The commentator Dharādhara has explained the second line of the said verse as follows :

"हे भगवत् द्वैतं विना अद्वैतक्रमेण पुरुषोत्तमे भक्तिर्भवतु ॥

We have already discussed about the development of the Hindu Vedānta philosophy from the 8th century onward upto the period of Madhvācārya i.e. (11th-13th centuries), while his *Dvaita-vāda* was fully popularised by his disciple Narahari Tīrtha. In consideration of the above facts, we cannot place Mahākavi Bhatta Nārāyaṇa before the 12th century, who depicted in his play the amorous act of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣottama.

18. THE CULT OF GOPĀLA-KṚṢṆA OR GOPINĀTHA :-

In the 13th century while Nimbārka's theory of *Dvāitādvaita-vāda* spread in south-India and Utkala, a disciple of that school compiled a work called 'Sakalācārya-mata-saṅgrahaṃ'. It is a collection of teachings of all the teachers of the Bhakti cult. In the 15th century, Vallabhācārya propagated the Kṛṣṇa cult which was a popular philosophy adopted by the later *Vaiṣṇavas* of Utkala. The said philosophy was called '*Śuddhādvaita-vāda*. The followers of Caitanya however believed in *Acintya-bhedābheda* which was propagated by Jīvagosvāmī in his 'Ṣaṭsandarbha-darśana. His spiritual guide Rūpagosvāmī wrote the 'Bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu', while Baladeva Vidyabhūṣana wrote the 'Govinda-bhaṣya' which explained the scientelogy of the *Prema-bhakti*.(130) It was a fine and elaborate commentary of the Brahma-sūtras elucidating the philosophy of *Acintya Bhedābheda-vāda.*

The great teacher Caitanya did not believe in any racial difference while paying devotion to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. His theory was based on the principle of equality between man and woman; Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra and Hindu and Muslim and the

other communities. While performing the Nāma-saṅkīrtana, that principle was also maintained in the temple of Lord Jagannātha at Purī. The *Mahāprasāda* could be accepted by a *Brāhamaṇa* from the hands of any caste. Thus, his followers regarded Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa, the superior Lord of the Universe.

The Cola kings of Kāñci were formerly the worshippers of Śiva as long as Naṭarāja (Śiva) was on the temple of Tanjore. They shifted their *gurupītha* of Śaivism from Tanjore to Chingalpet in Tamilandu when they became followers of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. So also the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga shifted their Śaiva *gurupītha* from Madhukeśvara temple of Mukhaliṅgam to the temple of Śrīkūrmam when they adopted Vaiṣṇavism. The *Vaiṣṇava ācāryas* of south-India had followed the 'Caturvyūha' cult, taught by Nāthamuni of the 10th century A.D., whose disciple named Purandara, grandson of Yāmunācārya, had propagated the same philosophy in the 11th century A.D. Until that period, Śaṅkara's *Advaita* philosophy was popular. But, after Rāmānuja, the said philosophy was changed as we have discussed before.

A *dīkṣāguru* of Coḍagaṅga Deva, who belonged to the school of *Dvaita-vāda* (dualism) and followed the system of 'Nārada Pañcarātra', probably resided in the Śrīkūrmam temple along with many *Vaiṣṇava ācāryas*. He was called Śrīpāda.[131] In the 65th Śrāhi (1139 A.D.) Coḍagaṅga granted some landed property known as 'Ācārya-bhoga' to his *guru* on the eve of his return from the *Gangāsnāna*, on the auspicious day of *Kārttika-pūrnimā* (full-moon day). In two Telugu inscriptions, lying in the campus of Mahārājā's college, Vizayanagaram (Visakhapatnam district), we read the corresponding passages as quoted below :

> "स्वस्ति श्रीशकवरुषं वुलु 1061 गुनेंटि श्रीमदनन्तवर्म देवर प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्यसंवत्सर 65 श्राहि तुला शुक्ल पूर्णमियु गुरुवारमुन विहारवाडवीटि श्रीपादमुलु गंगास्नानमुसेसिन अवसरमुनं चोलगंगराउतराजु....."[132]

In another inscription of the same place, a repeated charter mentions the date as :

> "श्रीमदनन्तवर्मदेवर प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्यसंवत्सर 65 मु श्राहि तुल शुक्लकार्त्तिकपूर्णमीयु गुरुवारमुन विहारवाड-वीट श्रीपादमुलु गंगास्नानमुसेयुनावसरमुन अल्लुं चोडगंगराजु श्रीपादमुलकु

विनयमुसेसि आचार्यभोगमु पुट्टें इनुगा वेरसियलु पुट्लुगा नेला इचेर्वुडिग्गुवलन-
आचन्द्राक्र्कमुनकु वेट्टि तिमि''(133)

In 1142 A.D., he retired from politics to devote his life in religious affairs. He made some reforms in the temple of Lord Puruṣottama (i.e. in the Nṛsiṃha temple), while His great temple was under construction. He seems to have appointed *devadāsīs* to organise musical performances in the said temple. It is curious to note here that in the same year i.e.1142 A.D. a 'Sāni' (*devadāsī*) of Viṣṇudeva (god) had installed a perpetual lamp in the temple of Madhukeśvara (Śiva) at Mukhaliṅgam as stated in the inscription of that temple.(134) According to another inscription of the said temple, a *devadāsī* of Pūrnakoṭi i.e. Śrīkūrmam, who belonged to Jājya-kula, was appointed as a dancing woman in the Madhukeśvara temple.(135) Thus, some Sānis (dancing women) were designated as '*deva-gaṇikā*' or '*devadāsī*' to dance in the temples of Kaliṅga being appointed by the Gaṅga kings, before Coḍagaṅga merged Utkala with his dominion. Therefore, we may presume that some *devadāsīs* were brought from Śrīkūrmam to Śrīkṣetra (Purī) in which they settled in a street called 'Cuḍaṅga-sāhi'. Those *devadāsīs* were appointed by Coḍagaṅga to perform the musical service in the temple of Śrī Puruṣottama. We, therefore, presume that the *devadāsīs* might have paid regards to the king (Coḍagaṅga) by installing his statue in the street where they lived. We have stated before that the cults of Gopinātha and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa' were inter-relating to Lord Puruṣottama, ever since the *Dvaitādvaita* school attained prominence in this country. A few years latter, Mahākavi Jayadeva, who became an important *sādhu* (sage) of Śrīkūrmam, composed the Gītagovinda containing lyrical songs in Sanskrit. M. Winternitz has rightly remarked about Jayadeva stating that he belonged to 'the greatest poetrician of India'. It is however, astonishing that he was able to combine so much passion and sentiment of love and so much alliteration in language that it often resounds as pure to our ears, with such an ornate and yet artificial form. It is no wonder that in India the poem enjoys unusual popularity and has always found admires even outside india.(136)

It is true to say that the Gītagovinda composed by the great poet Jayadeva was not only a masterpiece in Sanskrit literature, but also an outstanding work on music. The subject which he selected was equally glorious and careful to the

bhaktas (devotees) of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, who belonged to the schools of Nimbārka, Madhva, Vallabha and Caitanya. The *devadāsīs* who were appointed by the Gajapati kings of Orissa to sing and dance in the temple of Lord Puruṣottama at the Puruṣottama-dhāma (Purī), were ordered by Pratāparudra Gajapati to sing no other song except Jayadeva's Gītagovinda only.

From an inscription of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, we get the name of one Sādhu-pradhāna Jayadeva of Kūrma-pāṭaka who was associated with a lady named Medamādevi while she was granting a perpetual lamp in the said temple in the name of Kīrtivāsa (Śiva).[137] The grant was made when Coḍagaṅga's son Rāghavadeva (1158-1170 A.D.) was the ruler of Utkala. In this inscription, Jayadeva's title is Sādhu-pradhāna (important sage) and he was staying in Kūrma Pāṭaka (Śrīkūrmam), which was an important centre of *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and also of the *devadāsis* of Jājya kula. We therefore, believe that the great *kavi* Jayadeva who was born in the village of Kenduli (in Orissa) might have spent his matured age as a sage in the temple of Śrīkūrmam with the scholars of Śrī-sampradāya.

The *devadāsīs* who migrated from Śrīkūrmam might have learned music and the songs of the Gītagovinda from the sage Jayadeva. Most probably Jayadeva was well-versed in the music which was then familiar in Kaliṅga. Otherwise it was not possible on his part to compose such melodious songs in Sanskrit language. We have already stated that the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was not very popular in Utkala till the 15th century. In the early part of the 16th century Jīvagosvāmī, a follower of Śrī Caitanya order, wrote a book entitled 'Saṭsandarbha' in which he explained the theory of devotion regarding the Kṛṣṇa cult. At the same time another philosopher of Utkala, Baladeva Vidyabhūṣaṇa, wrote the 'Govinda-bhāṣya', a commentary on the Brahma-sūtra and an excellent annotation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In the contemporary age, *Vaiṣṇava kavi* Rūpagosvāmī, wrote some *kāvyas* namely Haṃsa-dūta, Mukundamuktāvali, Stavamālā, Lalitamādhava (drama), Vidagdhamādhava, Padyāvali (anthology), all relating to the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. A senior drama writer, Mathurā Das also composed a charming play entitled 'Vṛṣabhānujā' in depiction of amorous play of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā.

The earliest philosophy on *bhakti* cult was introduced as the superior system

of religious exercise since the 7th century and then brought into a shape by Rāmānuja. This was subsequently diverted into the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas who were dominating the religious institutions of south-India together with Kaliṅga and followed the system of the 'Catruvyūha' cult, had accepted the said cult in the 11th and 12th centuries. That cult was introduced in the temple of Puruṣottama (the present Nṛsiṃha temple) by Coḍagaṅga, who installed three deities belonging to the family of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. Subsequently, the same cult was propagated by Nimbārka and Madhva in their schools for worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. After three hundred years Vallabhācārya and Caitanya popularized that worship in Utkala as we have stated before. It is interesting to note here that the *tilaka* of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha is a comprehensive sign of all the schools, starting from Rāmānuja upto Vallabhācārya i.e. from the 11th century to 16th century A.D. Apart from the *tilaka* in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha at Purī, there is a festival called '*Citālāgi Amāvāsyā*' in the new-moon day of *Śrāvaṇa*, when all the three deities are decorated with jewels attached to a rounded token on their foreheads. The *citā* of Lord Jagannātha is white being attached to a piece of diamond, while the *cītā* for Balabhadra and Subhadrā are attached to a blue stone of emerald and a reddish stone of ruby respectively. These three different colours indicate the qualities of *Sattva* (peace), *Tamas* (destruction) and *Rajas* (production). Those *citās* are annular shaped, made of gold with precious stones. The '*Mahanta*'s of different temples belonging to different schools adopt different symbols of *tilaka* which they notice also on the forehead of Śrī Jagannātha. Hence, each Mahanta embraces the cult of Śrī Jagannātha as if of his own *sampradāya*. Consequently, Lord Jagannātha has been regarded as the Supreme God of all sections of cult and philosophy.

After introduction of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult and their worship in Śrī-Jagannātha temple, it has become a confusing factor as to whether Rādhā was the representative of Lakṣmī or Subhadrā, belonging to the Kṛṣṇa family. We have stated before that according to the Buddhist *tantra*, Subhadrā was a synonym of *śakti*. So also Rādhā was equal to the same *śakti*. In the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa it is stated that, the Prakṛti, the original matter, which however here seems to be conceived by mythology, resolves in itself at the

command of Kṛṣṇa, into five goddesses i.e. Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā.(138)

Vallabhācārya, in the 'Pūrna-prajña-bhāṣya' explained the theory of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult which was adopted in the '*Nīlācala Dhāma*' ever since the great temple of Śrī Jagannātha was consecrated. We notice here the monuments of the '*Kṛṣṇa Līlā*' i.e. dancing with *gopīs*, Govardhana-*dhāraṇa*, Dhenukāsura-*vadha* etc. which have been illustrated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The figures of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa or their love affairs are not found in the main structure, but are depicted in the additional parts. Therefore, it proves that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *līlā* was not popular even in the 13th century A.D. Vallabhācārya belonged to the 15th century, who seems to have advanced the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in a full-fledged manner, while a *saṃhitā* called 'Jñānāmṛta-sāra' was written and added as a part of the 'Nārada-pancarātra'. Those Vaiṣṇavas who followed the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa did not believe in any other system of philosophy, but the '*Prema-bhakti*' and '*Nāma-saṅkīrtana*', as taught by Śrī Caitanya to whom they consider as an *avatāra* of *Kali* age. Long before the cult of Gopinātha or Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was introduced in Utkala, the image of Lakṣmī was used as a *lānchana* (emblem) by the Sarabhapurian kings, the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings and the Somavaṃśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. The said emblem is found in their copper-plate inscriptions. The Somavaṃśī kings who built several *Śaiva* temples in Bhubaneswar also installed the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī at the front lintel of the inner sanctum. In the 5th century A.D., the Māṭhara kings of Kaliṅga had started to worship Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. According to the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśakti Varman (C. 392-426 A.D.),(139) there is the following passage which clearly renders the idea that the said king (Anantaśakti Varman) was a devoted worshipper of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa: "कमलनिलयाक्रान्तवक्षसो नारायणस्वामिन: पादभक्त:". It means that the king was a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa who stayed in the home of Kamalā. But in the subsequent period i.e. 12th century or a little before, Rādhā was added in place of Lakṣmī. A Sanskrit drama named 'Gopālakeli-candrikā' was written by a Gujarati poet named Ramakṛṣṇa who lived in about the 12th century. He had repeatedly stated in that drama the name of Rādhā as the companion of 'Śrī Puruṣottama' who appeared in the earth as a cowherd Gopāla.(140)

19. THE MAṬHAS OF PURĪ :-

The word *'maṭha'* means a hut or a cottage in which an ascetic lives in his retired life to preach philosophy to his pupils. According to a Sanskrit lexicon 'Amarakośa', *maṭha* is a residence of pupils with the teachers. The purpose of a *maṭha* is mostly concerned to the teachers of religious motive and prayers or worships of God. According to P.V. Kane, 'the *maṭhas* were primarily intended for the instruction of pupils and the laity by some great teachers in the tenets of sects or in the doctrins of some philosophy or in some branch of learning such as grammar, *mīmāṇsā*, astronomy and the like.[141] According the Asanpat inscription of Keonjhar (Orissa), a king named Śatrubhañja, who belonged to about the 4th or 5th century A.D., had visited some *maṭhas*, such as the Śaṅkheśvara-maṭha, Lakṣeśvara-maṭha, Maṇibhadra Maṭha and other *maṭhas* where he donated thousands of gold coins to *brahmacārins*, *carakas*, *paribrājakas*, *bhikṣus*, *nirgranthikas*, *varnāntikas* etc. Those ascetics belonged to different sects of religion. In the above named *maṭhas*, a Nāgavaṃśī king of Utkala (Śatrubhañja) had sumptuously donated the gold coins for sustenence of religious *gurus* of different schools with their pupils, who lived in said *maṭhas*. It is, therefore, clearly proved that several *maṭhas* were built in Utkala long before ācārya Śaṅkara visited Puruṣottama Kṣetra to establish a *maṭha* for teaching the philosophy of '*Advaita-vāda*' and it was called 'Govardhana-maṭha'. From the 8th century onwards many *maṭhas* have been established by the disciples of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha, Caitanya etc. Some other *sampradāyas* have also established their institutions in *Śrīkṣetra* for teaching the doctrines of their respective philosophy.

The total number of *maṭhas* in Puri is about 103. A list of them is appended below :

I. The Rāmānuja-sampradāya :

1. Baḍa-santha Maṭha
2. Cakratīrtha or Paṇḍita Maṭha
3. Śrī-Rāmadāsa Maṭha
4. Emāra Maṭha
5. Jagatamohinī Maṭha
6. Jīvasvāmī Maṭha
7. Kaṭaki Maṭha
8. Mahābīriyā Maṭha
9. Narasiṃhācāri Maṭha
10. Neuladāsa Maṭha

11. Nuā Maṭha
12. Rāghavadāsa Maṭha
13. Rāmānujakoṭa Maṭha
14. Raṅganāyikācāri Maṭha
15. Samādhi Maṭha
16. Sānachatā Maṭha
17. Sānajhādu Maṭha
18. Siddha Maṭha
19. Sītārāmakoṭa Maṭha
20. Trimāli Maṭha
21. Uttarapārśva Maṭha
22. Kauśalyādāsa Maṭha

II. Rāmānandi-sampradāya :

1. Balarāmakoṭa Maṭha
2. Balagandi Maṭha
3. Chāuṇi Maṭha
4. Dasāvatāra Maṭha
5. Ghumusara Maṭha
6. Hatiākhadā Maṭha

IV. Madhvacārya Sampradāya :

1. Balabhadrachatā Maṭha
2. Siddha Brahmacārī Maṭha

V. Nimbārkapanthī Sampradāya :

1. Rāmaji Maṭha
2. Rādhāballabha Maṭha
3. Cikiṭi Maṭha

VI-Gauḍīya Sampradāya :

1. Acyuta Maṭha
2. Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha
3. Gandharva Maṭha
4. Gaurakiśora Maṭha
5. Gosvāmī Maṭha
6. Haridāsa Ṭhākura Maṭha
7. Jhāñjapiṭā Maṭha
8. Kalitilaka Maṭha
9. Kuñja Maṭha
10. Koṭhabhoga Maṭha
11. Luṇiā Caudhurī Maṭha
12. Nandinī Maṭha
13. Nidhidāsa Maṭha
14. Nāṇḍi Maṭha
15. Paramānanda Dāsa Maṭha
16. Śrī Puruṣottama Maṭha
17. Ruṇī or Rāṇī Maṭha
18. Siddha-vakula Maṭha
19. Sunāgosvāmī Maṭha
20. Surangi Maṭha
21. Sāna Taralā or Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Maṭha
22. Toṭā Gopinātha Maṭha

VII-Madhva Gauḍeśvara or Gauḍa Madhva-sampradāya :

1. Arjuna Dāsa Maṭha
2. Bābā Brahmacāri Maṭha
3. Bali Bābājī Maṭha
4. Viśākhā Maṭha

5. Cauliyā Maṭha
6. Dampaḍā Maṭha
7. Haladiyā Maṭha
8. Jatiā-Bābājī Maṭha
9. Jena Maṭha
10. Kaṇāsa Maṭha
11. Krupāsamudra Maṭha
12. Omkāranātha Sitārāmadāsa Maṭha
13. Rādhākānta Maṭha
14. Sāna Santha Maṭha

VIII - Other Vaiṣṇvite Maṭhas :

1. Sāna Oḍiyā Maṭha
2. Sātalahaḍi Maṭha
3. Satasāsana-Giridhārī Maṭha
4. Śiśu Maṭha
5. Śaṅkarācarya Maṭha
6. Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha
7. Jayapura Maṭha
8. Hātigurudeva Maṭha
9. Gopalatīrtha Maṭha
10. Baḍa Maṭha
11. Baḍa Oḍiyā Maṭha
12. Bānki-muhāṇa or Padma Caraṇadāsa Maṭha
13. Bhāratī Maṭha
14. Phalāhārī Maṭha
15. Jagannāthavallabha Maṭha
16. Mahīprakāśa Maṭha
17. Laṅguli Maṭha
18. Rimāchatra Maṭha
19. Rāṇī Maṭha
20. Śivatīrtha Maṭha
21. Baṇiyā-chatra Maṭha
22. Dukhiśyāma-Bābā Maṭha

IX- Nānak-panthi Sampradāya :

1. Maṅgu Maṭha
2. Bāuli Maṭha

X-Aṅgila Maṭhas :

1. Baḍajhāḍu Maṭha
2. Aṅgirā Āśrama
3. Ḍagara Maṭha
4. Lavaṇīkhiā Maṭha
5. Malei Maṭha
6. Purāṇa-sabhā Maṭha
7. Poḍā Maṭha
8. Bhṛgu Āśrama

XI-Śaṅkara-sampradāya:

1. Govardhana Maṭha
2. Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha
3. Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha

20. THE TEMPLE OF SRI JAGANNĀTHA AT PURĪ :

There are some different opinions which have been expressed by scholars regarding the basement of the great temple of Jagannātha at Purī. They assume that in the remote age, there was a sacred *vedi* or conic platform on which the temple was built. To establish this, some scholars have cited a passage from the 'Vana-parva' of the Mahābhārata which mentions that the Pāṇḍavas had climbed upon the said *vedi* being advised by Lomaśa-muni who guided them to visit many sacred places of Kalinga, when they crossed the river Vaitaraṇī. But, there is no relevent evidence to support that theory. Because, the said *vedi* of the time of Mahābhārata was not the same-platform as mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa in the following verse :

''तत् पूर्वे वेदिकामध्ये न्यग्रोधछायशीतले ।
इन्द्रनीलमणिमयो आस्ते चक्रगदाधर: ।। (142)

It means that the god who held the disc and the club and whose complexion like *Indra-nīlamaṇi*, was staying under the cool shade of a banian tree grown upon a *vedi*. In about the 13th century A.D., when the Skanda Purāṇa (Utkala-khaṇḍa) was written, the temple of Jagannāth was functioning well. Hence, we canot accept that the sacred *vedi* referred to in the Mahābhārata was identical with the *vedi* referred to in the Skanda-Purāṇa.

Some other scholars propose that there was a hillock called 'Nīlagiri' or 'Nīlādri' or 'Nīlācala' which was the basement of the present Jagannātha temple. We fail to understand if any little hillock would possess the titles of *giri*, *acala* and *adri*, which epithets are mostly applicable to great mountains like 'Himācala', 'Vindhyādri', 'Mahendragiri' etc. Hence, from the name of 'Nilācala' we need not conclude that the temple of Jagannatha was built upon a hillock. Therefore, we suppose that an extensive parabolic platform was there, on which stood the great temple with her enormous weight. The ground, therefore, had been strengthened by skilled architects who filled it with stone and sand from the ground up to the top. We also believe that, the said platform on which the temple stands was supported by a circuitous project right from its ridge by some old Śiva temples. The temples of Pātāleśvara and Īśāneśvara, in the northern side, formed like two strong protruding pillars to stop any earth-erosion. A row of temples was built

later on other sides of the main temple to strengthen her basement and the platform. Near the twenty-two flights (*Bāisi-pāucha*) leading to the main temple from the east, was built a pavilion or *maṇḍapa* in some later age, which was called 'Bhoga-maṇḍapa', where the additional offerings (*bhogas*) were placed. In about the first decade of the 18th century, in the time of Gajapati Harekṛṣṇadeva of Khurda, his *devān* (manager), Bhagavāna Bhramarabara had constructed the stairs at the inner circuit (*bhitara-beḍha*) to carry into it the *bhoga* materials from the kitchen chamber to the '*mohana*' where the offering (*pūjā*) was performed. An Oriya *kavya*, entitled Braja-vihāra by Dāsarathi Dāsa, mentions that in the 3rd *aṅka* year (=1720-21. A.D.) of Rājā Gopināthadeva, his manager (*pātra*), Bhagavāna-pada-Bhramarabara, had built the said stairs. The Bhoga-maṇḍapa was built in a *piḍhā* type of temple architecture and the twenty-two flights, extended from the ground level upto its front wall, made the entire structure more rigid and strong to resist the regular pressure by flow of thousands of pilgrims, to and fro during the festival days.

The great temple of Lord Jagannātha was built about 860 years back by some expert architects, who belonged to the '*Karmakāra-kula*' (masonary caste). During the life time of Coḍagaṅgadeva, the temple stood unfinished although, her required height from the top to bottom might have been built with plain cut-stones as per an approved model of 'Rekha-deula' in Pañca-ratha style. Coḍagaṅgadeva, who inaugurated the construction of the temple must have expired before installation of the deities, Puruṣottama-Balabhadra and Subhadrā in it. We know from an inscription (No.44) that the said deities were kept in the Nṛsimha temple before they were removed to the new temple in 1230 A.D., about 90 years after his death. The following verse, quoted from the Dāsgobā copper-plate grant of Coḍagaṅga's great grand-son, Rājarājadeva-II, praised Coḍagaṅga (Gaṅgeśvara) as the builder of the great temple of Lord Puruṣottama :

"पादौ यस्य धरान्तरिक्षमखिलं नाभिश्च सर्वा दिशः
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्धाऽपि च द्यौरसौ ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतेः को नाम कर्त्तुं क्षम-
स्तस्यैत्याद्यनृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गंगेश्वरः ॥"(143)

We have already discussed this aspect in the previous volume. Some local records state that the temple was built in the *śaka* year 1119 (=1197 A.D.) when Anaṅgabhīma - II was the ruler. But the Nagarī plates of his grandson, Anaṅgabhīmadeva - III' state that the temple was consecrated by him in 1230 A.D. This guided us to fix the date of completion of the temple in 1230 A.D., but not in 1197 A.D.. The *Jagamohana*, *Nātamandira* etc. and the three receptacles or chambers for installation of *Pārśvadevatās* are the later additional parts of the temple. In the outer walls there are three niches in which the shrines of Varāha, Narasiṃha and Trivikrama are installed at the *baranḍa*, in the south, west and north respectively. Those massive images of Pārśvadevatās were made of chlorite stone. There are little stairs to reach into those niches which appear like miniature temples for *darśana*.

Just below the western niche, there is an obliterated inscription on the wall at about ten inches height from the bottam. A few letters are visible in an inscribed slab there. The inscription is read as follows :

1. [शकाब्दे 11] 56......
2. [श्रीम]दनंग [भ] िम.... (Vide Sl. 49)

Although our reading is doubtful, palaeographically the inscription leads us to the 13th century A.D. Since the two numerical symbols in the middle of the first line are clearly read as '56', for the missing two numbers before 56 we added 11 to make it the *śaka* year 1156. We, therefore, presume that it may be *śaka-varṣa* 1156 which may correspond to 1234 A.D. So, it is the date just four years after Anaṅgabhīma III, consecrated the temple in 1230 A.D. The name of Anaṅgabhīma is also read in the second line.

Most probably, there are a few more inscriptions on the wall of the western wall of *Śrīmandira* which are hidden under the thick lime coating and may also have been damaged while the miniature temple of the *Pārśvadevatā* Narasiṃha was built. That later construction might have damaged another inscription which is faintly visible just above the first inscription. In between those two inscriptions, there is a small niche, containing an image of Veṇu-gopāla standing in *tribhaṅga* pose with two female figures standing on either side and all the images are made

of black chlorite stone. According to Surendra Mohanty, the great Jagannātha temple, was built partly by laterite and partly by sandstone. But, Dr. G.C. Chauley, the Superintending Archaeologist says, it is "a special 'dal-pinkish khondalite' stone, having superior quality, compared to that of the Sun-temple, Konārka, as nowhere in the temple surface the effect of salt erosion is noticed." We give credence to the view expressed by Dr. Chauley, who had been supervising the work of the present de-plasteration and conservation of the temple on behalf of the Department of Archaeological Survey of India. Now, the de-plastering of the temple has almost been completed from its top to bottom which has brought to light a large number of beaufifully carved designs and monuments. They were hidden under a thick lime coating. We agree with the remarks of Dr. Chauley who states: "The deplastering work and exposing of the Jagannātha temple, helped to solve the confusion that prevailed among scholars, who presumed that the temple was constructed in a period when the Kaliṅga artists lost their workmanship or the artistic skills degenerated". A similar type of art like the temple of Jagannātha is noticed in the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam (the ancient Kaliṅganagara) and some other temples of Kaliṅga which were built before 12th century in *rekha* style, consisting of some additional designs like *aṅgasikhara* or miniature shrines, as seen in the Jagannātha temple at Purī. A senior architect of *karmakāra-kula*, was employed by Coḍagaṅga. The sculptor might have migrated from Kaliṅga. Hence the pattern of the temples in Kaliṅga and Utkala contained a different style from that of the Chālukyan style of the south. There is a traditional account regarding the date of construction of the Jagannātha temple as quoted below :

''शाकाब्दे रन्ध्र-शुभ्रांशु-रूप-नक्षत्रनायके ।
प्रासादं कारयामासानङ्गभीमेन धीमता ॥'' (144)

It means that in the *śaka*-year 1119 (1197 A.D.), Anaṅgabhīma (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma -II who ruled from 1190 to 1198 A.D.), had built the great temple (of Śrī Puruṣottama, which was consecrated by his grandson, Anaṅgabhīma - III, in 1230 A.D.) But, we cannot rely on that traditional account for the reason that Anaṅgabhīma II, died in 1198 A.D. and his son Rājarājadeva - III, ascended the throne in the same year and issued the Dāsgobā plates in which he panegyrized the glory of Coḍagaṅgadeva (Gaṅgeśvara) saying that he constructed the great

temple. He did not give the credit of building the temple to his own father. Of course, the temple work was not completed within the life time of Coḍagaṅga, which fact is definitely known from an inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple (No.44), which revealed that Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were installed for adoration in the Nṛsiṃha temple only.

21. ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPLE OF LORD JAGANNĀTHA :-

In the above chapter we have discussed about the *Rājanīti* of Utkala. Now an account of the system of administration of the temple of Lord Jagannātha, which is now partly autonomous and partly under the government control will be given briefly. The exesting system took a great change after Mahārāja Anaṅgabhīma had transferred his kingdom to Śrī Puruṣottama, as soon as he installed the trinity in the consecrated temple at Purī. The property, both movable and immovable, endowed by the *Rājās* and rich pilgrims in the name of Lord Puruṣottama were kept in the *bhaṇḍāra* (store) of the temple under the custody of the *Rājā* of Purī. The regulation was strictly applied according to the old canonized scriptures. Kātyāyana states that mere wrongful possession for any length of time, of women, of state property and of temple property would not confer ownership on anybody. Yājñavalkya states that those who look after the business of guilds etc., in which many are interested, should be students of the Veda, men of restitude and free from greed. They are styled as *'Kārya-cintaka'*. Bṛhaspati, as quoted by Aparārka, states that these *'Kārya-cintakas'* should form a committee, which should consist of two, three or five persons and that if there occurs a difference between the larger bodies and the committee, then the king who was supposed to be the sole representative of god should interfere and bring round the proper person whoever might be wrong.(145) From very ancient age, the committee (*goṣṭhī*) was in charge of religious foundations.

So far as the temple administration of Lord Jagannātha is concerned, a *Mukti-maṇḍapa-sabhā* (guild-pavilion) was constituted as a canonical committee, whose members were supposed to give award on any dispute or problem that arose in the temple with regard to its functions. This committee consisted of a group of persons selected from *Śāsani-brāhmaṇas*, *Mahantas*, and functionaries of the temple as mentioned in the statutory account of Mādalā Pāñji.

Before 1230 A.D., when the deties were not installed in the main temple and Lord Puruṣottama was worshipped in a small temple near the unfinished great Jagannātha temple, most probably the Mādalā Pāñji was not written as a constitutional record of the temple. Hence, the 36 items of *'niyoga'*(service) was not prevalent and there was no need of any committee for issuing awards to the *sevakas.*

The Mādalā Pāñji narrates that Mahārāja Anaṅgabhīmadeva had introduced all the 36 '*niyoga*'s[146] and appointed qualified *sevakas* to perform necessary services in the temple. But, the said king had appointed a superintendent (*parīkṣā*) on whom he bestowed the power of supervision and the duty to watch carefully all the temple functionaries. The images of Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā had previously been installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple. But they were consecrated in the newly built temple by Anaṅgabhīma-III, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu. He might have introduced a new order of administration in the '*Śrīmandira*' called '*chatiśā-niyoga*' (thirtysix items of service). From the inscriptions of the temples of Nṛsiṃha and Mārkaṇḍeśvara, we find some designations of the *sevakas* such as (1) Mālākara (garland-maker), (2) Karmakāra (architect), (3) Lenkā (writer), (4) Śrī-karaṇa (record-keeper), (5) Pujāhāri (Pujāpaṇḍā), (6) Mudrāhasta (Mudiratha - holder of the seal) (7) Paśupālaka (one who makes the emblishment), (8) Daṇḍādhikarī (chief police officer), (9) Deva-dipavāhaka (carrier of light in the temple), (10) Adhipāka-maṇiyā (cook of extra food for Bhoga), (11) Sūpakāra (cook), (12) Mahāvāridhi-vāhaka (probably one, who carrys water for the deities), (13) Māluṇi (flower-garland making woman).

The term '*chatiśā-niyoga*' of the later period was probably introduced by Anaṅgabhīma in 1230 A.D., after he transferred his imperial status to Lord Puruṣottama. Then, the deity was treated like a living person, which is not seen in any temple in India. Apart from the daily rituals, some more additional services and *bhogas* were added for the imperial god Śrī Jagannātha. In this connection, we need a detailed study of the *Rājanīti* (polity) with regard to the administration of the temple of Jagannātha at Purī. The Hindu law of administration was strictly followed from the ancient period in this country ever since Mahārāja Samudragupta (Vikramāditya) began to rule in the 4th century A.D. Many *pandits* and poets

were patronised and lived in his court of Ujjayinī. They explicated a sound policy of administration, basing on 'Mahābhārata', 'Arthaśāstra' of Kauṭilya and Manu's *smṛtiśāstra* which was followed by Vikramāditya and the later Hindu kings irrespective of all other Non-Hindu conversants. The same constitutional frame of administration was followed with some minor variations, by the rulers of different regions known as *Viṣaya, Maṇḍala, Varttinī, Pañcālli, Khaṇḍa, Rāṣtra* etc., formed according to size, locality and environment. In order to maintain efficient administration, each of those units possessed three sections, namely (1) civil, (2) military and (3) religious. The king was the supreme head of each section with the power to appoint competant and qualified officers, loyal to the state and the king. That ancient system was also revised in different periods by Smṛti writers like Manu, Śukra, Vyāsa, Jaimini, Parāśara, Medhātithi, Yajñavalkya, Gobhila, Saṅkha-Likhita, Vijñaneśvara, Śatānanda etc. Some Purāṇas also added a few revised forms of administration.

22. A NEW RĀJANĪTI IN UTKALA'S ADMINISTRATION : -

In Utkala, the imperial Gaṅgas and the Gajapati kings adopted a revised form of *'Rājanīti'* which was supported by scholars of the south and the north, who migrated to Utkala under the patronage of Coḍagaṅgadeva in the 12th century A.D. From an inscription of Nṛsiṃha temple, it is revealed that Coḍagaṅga adopted a new system of administration called *'Abhinava-Rājanīti'*. Thereafter, we find some new titles of officers in the Gaṅga administration, such as *Parīkṣā, Leṅkā, Budhā-lenka, Śrī-karaṇa, Baḍu, Puravāri, Pura-parīkṣā, Mudala, Mudiratha, Nāyaka, Paḍhāla, Padhāna, Jennā, Puranāyaka, Pātra, Mahāpātra, Senānāyaka, Senāpati, Pati, Sānī* or *Māhāri* etc. apart from some more designations used in copper plate inscriptions. Many south-Indian *kavis* (poets) and *prasasti* writers were recruited by the Gaṅga kings who had matrimonial relationship with the Cola and Calukya kings of Vengi. The Dāsgobā copper-plate inscription of Rājarāja-III,[147] was composed by a poet called Appana, a south-Indian by name. The list of the titles used in the Gaṅga copper-plates is given below : (1) Adhikaraṇa, (2) Ājñāpati (?), (3) Ājñābhogika, (4) Akṣaśālika, (5) Amātya, (6) Antaraṅga, (7) Ayuktaka, (8) Ballabha, (9) Bhaṭṭa or Ballabha, (10) Bhoga-parīkṣā, (11) Bhaṇḍārādhikarī, (12) Cāṭa, (13) Daṇḍanāyaka (Daṇḍanetā), (14)

Daṅḍapāśika, (15) Dauvārika, (16) Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta, (17) Durgapati, (18) Durita-pratighātakṛt, (19) Dūtaka, (20) Karaṇa (Aṣṭa-kulādhikaraṇa), (21) Karanāika, (22) Kumāra, (23) Koṣadhyakṣa, (24) Koṣṭa-karaṇa, (25) Kutakola, (26) Lekhaka, (27) Lipikāra, (28) Lekhaka-adhikaraṇika, (29) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, (30) Mahāmahattara, (31) Mahāmāṇḍalika, (32) Mahāpratihāra, (33) Mahāpātra, (34) Mahārāja, (35) Mahārājādhirāja (Samrāṭa or Rājādhirāja), (36) Mahāsamanta, (37) Mahākṣapaṭala, (38) Mahāsāndhivigrahin, (39) Mahattara, (40) Mahābalādhikṛta, (41) Mantrī, (42) Niyuktaka, (43) Pratihārin, (44) Paṭṭalaka, (45) Purohita, (46) Pustapāla, (47) Rahasika, (48) Rahasiniyukta, (49) Rahasyādhikṛta, (50) Rājaputra, (51) Rājasthānīya, (52) Samantarāja, (53) Sreṣṭa-dūtaka, (54) Sūtradhara, (55) Sāmanta, (56) Sadhyādhikaraṇa, (57) Sandhivigrahika, (58) Sarbādhikṛta, (59) Śrī-sāmanta, (60) Sthānāntarika, (61) Talavara, (62) Tathākara, (63) Tavirādhikaraṇa, (64) Upādhyāya, (65) Uparika, (66) Utkīriṭa, (67) Vaisayika, (68) Vaiśvasika, (69) Viṣayāviniyuktaka, (70) Viṣayapati, (71) Vṛhadbhogika, (72) Vyavahārin and (73) Yuvarāja etc.

Now, we will discuss about the powers and duties assigned to some of the officers as assigned below :

(1) Adhikaraṇa and Pustapāla (No. 1 & 46) :

The officers who were designated by these two titles during the 5th and 6th centuries, had distinct responsibilities as described in four copper plates, discovered from Dāmodarapur.[148] According to the ancient rule, the person who wanted to purchase a piece of land, had to approach the *ddhikaraṇa* to render certain informations to him regarding the extent and the cost of land which he intended to purchase and the purpose of transaction. The *adhikaraṇa* shad to hand over the petition to *pustapāla* (*pustakapāla*), the record keeper, to report if the said transaction would be valid, so that it could be granted. After receipt of a favourable reply from him and remittance of the cost of the land, a copper-plate (the records of right) was to be granted to the concerned parties. In a Sanskrit drama named 'Mṛchakaṭika' the duties of '*adhikaraṇa*' and '*pustapāla*' are jointly shown in a trial scene in its 9th Act, where these two officers are shown to have conducted the trial. Here, the *adhikaraṇa* is discharging the duties of the court of justice in a criminal case. Therefore, the status of *adhikaraṇa* corresponds to that

of the modern District Magistrate or District Collector. Regarding the responsibilities of *adhikaraṇa*, we may say that a board of advisors was formed to help him. But, according to some scholars, the direct responsibility of managing the affairs of *adhikaraṇa* lay in the hands of the district officers.

(2) Daṇḍapāśika : (No. 14) :

Daṇḍapāśika is 'one who holds the trap or noose of punishment'. Of course, it is the literal meaning of the word '*daṇḍapāśika*'. But actually, he was a police officer who holds a stick and noose to catch the criminals.

(3) Dūtaka (No. 19) :

Dr. Fleet states (Gupta inscriptions) that, '*dūtaka*', occasionally '*dūta*', lit. 'a messanger', is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is almost commonly used in connection with copper charters. The office of *dūtaka* was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery unto the heads of the grantees, but the kings sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And in accordance of this, there is no mention of any *dūtaka*, when we have such expressions as *'ājñā-svayaṃ'.*

(4) Viṣayapati (No. 70) :-

Dr. Fleet says that *'viṣayapati'* is a technical official title, which means the lord or governor of a *Viṣaya.*

(5) Karaṇika (No. 21) :-

Dr. Fleet says, as regards *karaṇika* in the sense of a document, it was prepared by a *'karaṇika'* and that was a constant occurence in records. The meaning is, one who had to do with documents, a writer or a scribe.

(6) Sāmanta-Rājā (No. 52) :-

According to Dr. Fleet, *'sāmanta'*, lit; bordering, neighbouring, a neighbour, a boundary prince, the chief of a tributary district, is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the *mahā-sāmanta* (No. 36), which title occurs in several plates. The title of *'mahā-sāmanta'* was used by a king when he was chosen by the people on some sort of contract following some anarchy. But, in

course of time the same title was used by kings, appointed by an emperor to rule a kingdom or a portion of it. This title was used in some inscriptions of Toṣāli and Kaṅgoda or Utkala. A Sāmanta was in charge of about 100 villages.

(7) Lekhaka (No. 26) :-

Dr. Fleet says, *'Lekhaka'*, a writer, is a technical term for the actual drafter or writer of a record, as opposed to the composer of it. Buhlar says, 'In various later inscriptions *lekhaka* undoubtedly denotes the man who prepared the documents to be incised on copper or stone.' In the time of Aśoka, the lekhaka's title was *lipikāra.* According to V.R. Dikshitar, there was a non-military officer, the *Lekhaka*....... whose function was to keep the accounts relating to the military department. He was in possession of facts and figures as to the number of soldiers and the places where those officers were engaged.

(8) Amātya (No.5) :-

The literary meaning of *'Amātya'* is : 'an intimate of the same house or a councillor'. It is a technical official title. According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, the duty of *amātya* is as quoted below :

"प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमेया हि राजवृत्तिः । स्वयंदृष्टं प्रत्यक्षं, परोपदिष्टं परोक्षं
कर्मसु कृतेनावेक्षणमनुमेयम् । यौगपद्यात्तु कर्मणामनेकत्वादनेकस्थलाश्च
देशकालात्ययो मा भूदिति परोक्षममात्यैः कारयेदित्यमात्यकर्म ।"(149)

In the notes on 'the Śukranītisāra' edited by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the definition of *amātya* is given as 'an ordinary minister'.

(9) Mahattara, Kuṭumvin and Aṣṭa-kulādhikaraṇa (Nos. 39.20) :-

In one of the four copper plate inscriptions, discovered from Damodarpur, it is learnt that Buddhagupta had granted lands after these lands were sold under transaction and measured by the *mahattaras*, the *aṣṭakula-karaṇas*, the *grāmikas* and the *kuṭumbins.* Pargiter says that the *mahattaras* were men of position in the villages, the leading men".

(10) Cāṭa, Bhāṭa and Ballabha (No.12 & 9) :-

These designations are found in many copper-plate grants. Although, they

were forbidden to enter into the *Brāhmaṇa-śāsanas*, the *Ballabhas* were the protectors of the cow-herds as well as the merchants, while travelling through forests, from the attack of tigers etc. The following verse and its commentary is quoted below :

"वल्लभैः कामिकैस्तेनैरन्तपालैश्च पीडितम्।
शोधयेत् पशुसंघैश्च क्षीयमाणं वणिक्पथम् ॥

It has been explained by a commentary as follows :

"वल्लभैरित्याह। वल्लमैः राजदयितैः। कामिकैः राजशुल्काधिकृतैः। स्तेनैः। अन्तःपालैः पशुसंघैश्च व्याघ्रादिसंघैश्च पीडितम्। अतएव क्षीयमाणं वणिक्प्रचारवैरल्यात् वणिक्पथं शोधयेत् रक्षेत्, वल्लभादि पीडा परिहारद्वारेण।"

(11) Vyavahārin (No. 72) :-

According to Kauṭilya, the duty stipulated for a *'Vyavahārin'* is to punish the criminals. The said punishment was of four kinds:

"व्यावहारिकं कर्म चतुष्कं - षड्दण्डाः, सप्तकशाः, द्वावुपरि निबन्धौ, उदकनालिका च।"(150)

The commentary explained it as follows :

"व्यावहारिकं कर्म चतुष्कमिति। लोकव्यवहारप्रसिद्धानि चतुष्प्रकाराणि दण्डकर्माणि भवन्ति। षड्दण्डाः दण्डाघाताः षडित्येकः प्रकारः। सप्तकशाः कशाप्रहाराः इति द्वितीयः। द्वौ उपरि निबन्धौ हस्तयो पृष्ठतः कृत्वा संश्लेषितयोर्बन्धनं तेन सहो शिरसो बन्धनं चेति द्विरूपम्। बन्धनमिति द्वितीयः। उदकनालिका च नासायां लवणोदकनिषेचनम्। च इति चतुर्थः।(151)

Quoting from the Mahābhārata, V.R. Dikshitar says; 'The term *Vyavahārin* connotes a judicial officer; Bhīṣma enlights Yudhisṭhira as to what *uyavahāra* is'. Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha quoting from Mānava-dharmaśāstra, explains it in his Vyavahāra-mayūkha as follows :

"विप्रतिपद्यमाननरान्तरगताज्ञाताधर्मज्ञापनानुकूलो व्यापारो व्यवहारः।"(152)

Vyavahārin means, one who records evidence in the court or law or justice.

(12) Mahā-pratihāra (No. 32) :-

According to Dr. Fleet, he is 'the great *pratihāra*. It is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *pratihāras* or door-keepers'. In Orissa, the word is changed to *pratihārī* or *paḍihārī.*

Before subjugation of Utkala by Coḍagaṅga, the administration of this country was in a disturbed condition. The taxes levied upon the land holders and the merchants by the Somavaṃśī rulers were very heavy and irregular. We have explained it in the previous volume as to why Coḍagaṅga got support from the inhabitants of Utkala when he attacked the Somavaṃśī king Karṇadeva and after merging Utkala in Kaliṅga why he adopted a new *Rājanīti* to create happiness of his newly acquired dominion. Following the *Nīti-śāstras* by Manu, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Yagñyavalkya, Medhātithi etc., the great law-makers, he adopted a new *Rājanīti* (politics). That sagacious policy of Coḍagaṅga must have strengthened the imperial structure of the Gaṅgas, which could be retained for more than three hundred years. Coḍagaṅgadeva's proficiency was not only proved through his *Rājanīti*, but also in his religious out-look. He selected eminent *panḍits* as his *guru* in different branches, namely Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Brāhmaṇism or Śaktism. We have explained before, that he established the three deities, Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, after he embraced Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śaktism to create unity among all sections of religion. The most vital question which confused scholars is about the shape of each deity when the trinity (Puruṣottama, Balabhadra, and Subhadrā) was installed. In the Vṛhatsaṃhitā, Varāhamihira has mentioned the following iconographic form of Subhadrā (Ekānaṃśā) :

"एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।
कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्वहती ॥"(153)

But, the modern iconic feature of Subhadrā is not befitting to what was described in the 5th century by Varāhamihira. In the 13th or 14th century, Subhadrā possessed two arms. The Skanda Purāṇa (Utkala-khaṇḍa) states :

"तयोर्मध्यस्थितां लक्ष्मीं सुभद्रां भद्ररूपिणीम् ।
सर्वदेवारणीं पापसागरोत्तारकारिणीम् ॥
विकचाम्भोजवदनां वराब्जाभयधारिणीम् ।
कुङ्कुमारुणदेहां तां साक्षाल्लक्ष्मीमिवापराम् ॥"(154)

In the Nīlādri-mahodaya, it is written :

"भक्तानामवनायैवं तथा भद्राऽपि भद्रदा ।
अधोलम्बितहस्ताब्जा कुङ्कुमाभा शुभानना ॥"(155)

In our previous volume, we have stated that the wooden structure of the trinity was introduced towards the latter part of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma-III, after being derived from the *savara* pantheon. According to a tradition of the *savaras*, the goddess 'Manjorāmuṃ' is a female deity, who is present in between two male gods. The said tradition indicates that the mountain of 'Rāvaṇagiri'(156) was the seat of their gods (Kitung), who splitted a great rock that produced flame and injured the god's head in the left side and burnt his hands and legs, so that He could not move, but would remain staggered on the same Rāvaṇagiri. It is hard to surmise how far that tradition was to be linked with the present feature of the Jagannātha trinity. The revelation of the trinity from epigraphical source is assigned to an inscription (No.44), discovered from Nṛsiṃha temple, in which the names of Śrī-Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are engraved. In the same inscription, the name of one Māḷākāra Jayarāja is also mentioned, who is also known from another inscription (No.17) of the said Nṛsiṃha temple, incised in Kāmārṇavadeva's victorious year (*vijaya-rājya*) i.e. his 5th regnal year, corresponding to 1150 A.D. Therefore, the trinity must have been installed in the Nṛsiṃha temple sometime before 1150 A.D. Most probably, Kāmārṇava's father, Coḍagāngadeva, who was a devoted worshipper of Śrī Puruṣottama and possessed the titles of 'Parama-Māheśvara', 'Parama-Vaiṣṇava' and 'Parama-Brāhmaṇya', might have replaced the three deities in that old temple after removing the four armed image of Puruṣottama, who was previously installed by Yayati-II, in that temple. If our surmise is taken into account, then the installation of the trinity in the Nṛsiṃha temple should have taken place in the second or third decade of the 12th century A.D..

The next powerful and pious ruler of the Gaṅga dynasty was Anaṅgabhīmadeva- III, who improved the administration of the temple and the rituals which were left unfinished by Coḍagaṅgadeva. The Mādalā Pañji, therefore, regards him as the builder of *'Śrīmandira'*, although the work was initiated by Coḍagaṅgadeva, long before he was crowned. We have already said that Anaṅgabhīma was the consecrator of the great temple of Puruṣottama, who had installed the trinity in it. He made a survey of lands which were granted to Śrī Puruṣottama and also to the Brāhmaṇas. He had undertaken many beneficial works

in Utkala, such as excavation of tanks, wells and irrigation channels; planting of trees on road sides; establishing *chawltries* and *maṭhas* for *brahmacārins*, *gurus* and Vedic *Brāhmaṇas*; laying out roads and topes; appointing *vaidyas* for free medical aid to the poor etc. etc. After Anaṅgabhīma, his son, Narasimhadeva - I, kept himself engaged in protecting the country from the Muslim invasion.

23. THE FIGHT WITH THE MUSLIM KINGS : -

In the previous volume we have discussed about the king Narasiṃhadeva- I, who appointed the *savara* tribes in his army to fight with the Muslims and to protect the temple of Śrī Jagannātha. Probably to create their satisfaction, he changed the shape of the trinity. He also appointed the *śuddha-savaras* in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha to perform some stipulated rituals. Those *śavaras* were good fighters, who lived in the hill-forts of the Mahendra mountain in Kaliṅga under the Gaṅga rulers. Therefore, Narasimhadeva recruited them to fight with the Muslims of Bengal. Previously, some Hindu kings like the Chedis and Chalukyas had invaded the borders of Utkala from the west and south respectively, But, they had suspended their activities after Anaṅgabhīmadeva relinquished the whole of his kingdom in the name of the great god Śrī Puruṣottama, so that his kingdom became a *'devabhūmi'* (God's country), which no Hindu king could encroach out of fear of sin. Consequently the borders of south and west became safe and needed no futher protection. In the second half of the 13th century, Narasiṃhadeva I, took advantage of that strategic situation by strengthening his army posted at the mouth of Candrabhāgā, where he built a charming Sun temple. During the leisure time of soldiers, probably he engaged them in active services of the temple, such as collection of heavy rocks as required from distant parts through the river, which rocks were used in construction of the said temple by expert architects. Without such help by the army, especially by the *savaras*, we cannot think that such huge rocks could have been brought to Koṇārka from far off places.

After Narasiṃhadeva-I, regular fight was going on between the Gaṅga kings of Utkala and the aggresive Muslim fighters of Bengal. A terrible fight between

Bhānudeva-II (1306-1327 A.D.,) the son of Narasiṃhadeva-II and the Muslims of Bengal was started in 1323 A.D. The horror of that fight has been well described by a *praśasti* writer of Orissa in 'Kenduli-inscription' incised in 1383 A.D. Zia-Barni, a Muslim historian writes that Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq sent his son Ulugh Khan to march against Warangal and Teliṅgānā.[157] After subduing the above territories, Ulugh Khan, must have invaded Jājnagar and his invasion must have taken place in between 1312 A.D. and 1323 A.D. The Punjābi-maṭha plates composed in or after 1312 A.D. did not mention the above verse.[158] Just at the same time, one Śrīrāma Senāpati was appointed as 'Kaliṅga-rakṣapāla' (protector of Kaliṅga). An inscription of the Śrī-kūrmam temple, incised in 1321 A.D. states that Śrī-rāma Senāpati had secured the title of Melibhañjana (breaker of mutiny) and Koṇḍu-mardana (destroyer of Koṇḍu or Khonds).[159] These relevent events reveal that before Ulugh Khan arrived at Jājnagar from Teliṅgānā in 1323 A.D., he must have bribed some Khaṇḍapālas, to rebel against their overlord. But, Śrīrāma Senāpati could take timely action to suppress the rebellion. From the above inscription we also learn that Śrīrāma Senāpati, son of Āditya Paḍirāya, was a very strong and loyal officer under 'Śrī-vīrādhivīra Śrī-Bhānudeva'. In the same temple (Śrī-kūrmam), there is another inscription, incised on the 19th January 1323 A.D., which states about some grants made by Bhānudeva's queen-mother, Gaṅgamahādevi (the widow of Narasiṃhadeva-II), who adored Śrī-kūrmeśvara together with some *Brāhmaṇas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* living in that temple.[160] Most probably, the mother of Bhānudeva made orison to Kūrmeśvara for safety of her son (Bhānudeva-II) in the battle with Sultan Ghiyas-ud-in, in the year 1323 A.D. After this, there was a period of lull upto 1353 A.D., when Narasiṃhadeva-III, son of Bhanudeva-II, ruled over the country from 1327 to 1353 A.D. At that time Hājy-Eliās, a Muslim Sultan of Pāṇḍuva (Bengal), had established friendly relations with Bhānudeva-III. But the allegiance of a Muslim *sultan* of Bengal with a *kafir* (Hindu) king of Utkala created fury in the minds of Firoze Tughluq, the successor of Muhammad Tughluq of Delhi. He prepared a large army to attack the fort of Pāṇḍuva belonging to Hājy Eliās in Hizrā 754 (=1353 A.D.). The news

reached Utkala in no time through a messenger,[161] and Bhānudeva-III, immediately removed his camp with family to the south and ordered one of his subordinate princes Coda-II of Haihaya dynasty, to proceed with army without loss of time to the fort of Pāṇḍuva to save Hājy Eliās from the aggressive *sultan* of Delhi. The order was carried on without delay. An inscription of the Dharmaliṅgeśvara temple of Pañcadharlā in Viśākhāpatnam district, mentions the following verse singing the heroic victory of Coda-II at Pāṇḍuva.

''एकं चित्रपदं तु पाण्डवसुरत्राणार्त्तसेनापरि-
त्राणार्थं प्रतिगम्य बाहुविभवैर्निर्जित्य दिल्लीपतिम् ।
द्वाविंशत्तुरदंत्तिभिस्सममदाज्जैत्रे द्विरामुत्कल-
क्षोणीशाय स भूपत्तिः सुरवरस्त्रीभ्यस्तुरष्कानपि ॥''[162]

While editing the said inscription, Dr. J. Novel translates the verse as folows; 'But, this was an unique and wonderful deed having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultan of Pāṇḍava and having by the strength of his army completely vanquished the ruler of Delhi, that king gave the goddess of victory together of twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkala, and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods.[163] It is therefore evident that, the Turkish Sultan Hājy Eliās was in alliance with the king of Utkala (Bhānudeva-III), who saved him from a great calamity. But, the Persian historians like Afif and Zia-Barani in their work entitled 'Tarikh-i-Firozshahi' and also Nizamuddin in his 'Tabaquat-i-Akbari' [164] which was also quoted by Ferishta, have wrongly mentioned that Hājy-Eliās had invaded Jājnagar (Utkala). Those writers of 1593 and 1612 must have received some hearsay legend after 240 years only to hide the glory and victory of Bhānudeva-III against Firoz Tughluq of Delhi. Even some historians of India were misguided by the above named Persian writers of later age. For example, in the History of Bengal, Dr. R.C. Majumdar had stated, 'about the middle of the 14th century A.D., however, the gateway into Utkala kingdom of fabled prosperity which had not been previously pierced by any Turkish warlord of Bengal, was burst open by Ilyās Shah. He swept away all opositions, marched across the country

upto the lake of Chilka, where the terror of his arms had driven the aristocracy of Orissa and came back with immense booty including 44 elephants. But, the truth is quite contrary as we find from the contemporary epigraphical records stated above, being quoted from the Pañcadharlā inscription.

Only seven years after the first expedition of Pāṇḍuvā, Firoz made a second invasion in 1360 A.D. This time, he earned a victory by crushing the *sultan* of Bengal. Then, he came to Jaunpur to know if Bhānudeva was slack in his strategy to fight with him. After the rainy season in November, 1360, he started an incursion with his army into Utkala, most secretly through the jungles of Chotā-Nāgpur and unexpectedly seized Vārāṇasī, the capital of Utkala. A heinous treachery was played by a punished officer, Baki (Bakṣi), with whose help that unexpected attack of the Muslim army was successful. In the Sirat-i-Firuz-Sahi, the following is mentioned. "Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jājnagar) one of his ministers named 'Baki' presented himself before his majesty and petitioned, for countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the 'Rai', but he is now oppressing me. When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic stricken and frightened, as how long shall I be oppressed by the 'Rai', to whom shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of the 'Rai' ? It was my good fortune that the imperial standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court. If your majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour shall I look forward to ? When the 'Rai' of Jājnagar and the *zamindārs* of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your majesty, denuciation at the hands of your majesty against me would be of no avail'. The *sultan* distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard.[165]

The fabulous glory of Narasiṃhadeva-III, the father of Bhānudeva may be estimated from the Ekāvali *kavya* written by Vidyādhara. It is needless to say

that many learned poets and *pandits* were staying in his court, among whom Vidyādhara was a famous figure. There is a popular slogan that 'Prosperity will bring lethergy and decay'. The imperial Gaṅgas could not escape from that rule. The last Gaṅga king, fought with a king of Bengal and achieved victory and this glory has been announced in Sūtradhara's overture in the 'Candrakalā Nātikā' written by Visvanātha Kavirāja, who is also the famous author of Sāhitya-darpaṇa'. After Narasiṃhadeva-I, the temple activities, such as festivals and adoration of the deities in *'Śrī-mandira'* might have been dissipated due to frequent attacks by the Muslim kings. Since the time of Bhānudeva-II (1308-1328 A.D.), till Nisaṅka Bhānu or Bhānudeva-IV (1414-1435 A.D.), Utkala became a field of war interminably. The following *praśasti* verse, mentioned in the Kenduli plates, renders a clear picture of the war with Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq to whom Bhānudeva- II, had crushed bitterly by killing his army :

''राज्ञः यस्य गयासदीनसमरप्रारब्धशौर्य्यक्षत-
प्रौढ़ानेकनरेन्द्रकन्धरगलत् कीलालपूर्णावनी ।
तत्कालक्षतवक्षसां करिकुलास्फालोत्थितशोणिता-
सारोऽद्यापि दिगन्तरेऽस्ति विलसत् सन्ध्यानुरागच्छलात् ।।''(166)

It means that the king Bhānudeva-II had started a war with Ghiyas-ud-din, in which battle blood that was gushing from the neck of many powerful enemy kings, had filled the whole world (whole war-field). The scenery of blood stream, flowing from the injured breasts of war-elephants, is still (as if) appearing in the evening glow of the sky.

The total number of kings ruled in Utkala in the imperial Gaṅga line was eight from Narasiṃha-I to Bhānu-IV, who were known by the said two names only - Narasiṃhadeva and Bhānudeva, followed by turns. The total span of their reign was 196 years, from 1239 to 1435 A.D. Within that period, the Afgan kings of Bengal raided over Jājnagar (Utkala) repeatedly, but failed to plunder her independence. During their raids, no great temple was damaged in Orissa.

24. THE SŪRYAVAṂŚĪ KINGS OF UTKALA :-

A renowned king named Kapileśvara Gajapati of Solar dynasty came to the throne of Utkala after Nisaṅka Bhānudeva-IV. Not only that the king Kapileśvara or Kapilendra had protected Utkala from the Muslim attacks, but also he could extend his territory from Gauḍa (modern Bangladesh) to as far as Karṇāṭa, near the river Kāverī. He subjugated Teliṅgāna and Gulbargh, whereafter he possessed a glorious title such as 'Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-Navakoṭi-Karṇāta-Kalabargeśvara'. According to an inscription of Gopināthpur (Cuttack district),(167) he saved the Hindus of Uttara Pradesh and Punjab by defeating the Muslim rulers of Delhi. In that inscription he was compared with the divine Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, who saved the world from sinking under mud during the end of the 'Kalpa'. Not only that he was a great and powerful emperor, but also an humble and devoted person to Śrī Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. From an inscription at the Jaya-vijaya(168) gate of '*Śrīmandira*' we find that he prayed to Śrī Puruṣottama, when he was unable to decide some political problems relating to some disloyal persons of propinquity. He used to distribute property only after taking permission (ājñāmāla) from the great Lord Śrī Puruṣottama. His son, Puruṣottamadeva was also a humble devotee of Lord Puruṣottama. His victory of Kāñci by the grace of god is proved from epigraphical records. A popular story regarding his fight with a Kāñci-king depicts that he was successful as the gods Balabhadra and Jagannātha assisted him. This legend may not be a fable, because his victory in the south was recorded in an inscription of that period. He posted a pillar of victory near the river Tuṅgabhadrā, which is expressed in another copper-plate inscription(169) issued by his son, Pratāparudra Gajapati.

Pratāparudra was also a devotee of Śrī Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. In his reigning period, in 1510 A.D., the *Vaiṣṇava* sage Caitanya visited Purī with his followers from Navadīpa (Bengal). He propagated the *bhakti* cult through *'nāma-saṅkīrtana'* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. The introduction of Rādhā in place of Lakṣmī was not accepted by some orthodox *Vaiṣṇavas* who worshipped Gopinātha in the *Brāhmaṇa śāsanas.* But, prior to the ruling time of Vākpati-muñja of Mālava (Rajasthan), the worship of 'Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa' was accepted by some royal families

including the Pārāmār kings, who invoked them in the following verse in their inscriptions :

''यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखितं यन्नार्द्रितम्वारिधे-
र्व्वारा यन्न निजेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतम् ।
यत् शेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्न्न चाश्वासितं
तद् राधाविरहातुरासुररिपोर्व्वेल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ।।(170)

It means that 'the enemy of demons who felt no happiness at the moon-like face of Lakṣmī; whose body got no coolness, although lain on the ocean; who received no peace from the sweet fragrance of lotus that sprouted from his own navel; who felt no rest from the wind that was produced from thousand hooded Śeṣanāga (on whose coil he slept), but whose body quivered in absence of Rādhā, let He save us'

There were two groups of *Vaiṣṇavas* namely, those who worshipped Gopinātha together with Lakṣmī and secondly those who worshipped Kṛṣṇa with His female *Śakti* Rādhā, whose *dhyana* is as follows :

''स्मेरा श्रीकुङ्कुमाभास्फुरदसितपदप्रान्तगुप्तापगश्च
रम्या वेशेन वेणीकृतचिकुरशिखीलम्बिपद्मा किशोरी
तर्जन्याङ्गुष्ठयुग्मे हरिमुखकमले युञ्जति नागवल्ली
पर्णं कर्णायताक्षां त्रिजगति मधुरां राधिकां चिन्तयामि ।।''

The Gītagovinda of veteran poet Jayadeva had produced a magical effect in the minds of the *Vaiṣṇavas* due to its perspicuous style that revealed *'Prema-bhakti'* (devotion through love).

In or before the 12th century A.D., an inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, invoked in erotic manner, the love affair of Kṛṣṇa with Kamalā (Lakṣmī), for which Vāgdevī (Sarasvatī) tantalized Kṛṣṇa, while he approached to embrace her. The relevent verse runs as follows :

''गाढ़ोपगूढ़कमलाकुचकुम्भपत्र-
मुद्राङ्कितेन वपुषा परिरम्भमानः ।
मा लुप्यतामभिनवा वनमालिकेति
वाग्देवतोपहसितोऽस्तु हरिः श्रिये वः ।।(171)

It proves that the erotic play of Kṛṣṇa with Lakṣmī was admitted before. He joined with Rādhā in Utkala by those *Vaiṣṇavas*, who worshiped Lakṣmī and Gopinātha in or before the 12th century, while Śrī Puruṣottama was taken as Śrī-Kṛṣṇa (Vāsudeva). Dr. Mahatab states that a fresh impetus was imparted to Vaiṣṇavism in the 11th and 12th centuries by Rāmānujācārya and Madhvācārya respectively. Rāmānuja laid stress on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, while Madhvā laid stress on the worship of Viṣṇu, but neither of them advocated the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva or Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. It was Nimbārka, a Brahmin of Andhra state, who first introduced Rādhā as a companion of Kṛṣṇa and assigned Her a place as high to Rukminī, a consort of Kṛṣṇa. By that time, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva had been totally eclipsed by Gopāla-kṛṣṇa to such heights that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva had completely vanished from popular worship'.

M. Winternitz says that Nimbārka, in the 12th century, 'regarded Rādhā as the eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa. If the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, according to Nimbārka, was introduced in the 12th century, then the question arises as to why their united statue was not placed in the temple of Jagannātha even by the later Gajapati kings of Orissa. Perhaps Rādhā was not worshipped as a goddess till Brahma Purāṇa was written. In Orissa, Bāluṅkiśvara Mardarāja, Rājā of Āṭhagaḍa had written about 'Rādhāṣṭamī-Vrata' in 1744 A.D.

The philosophy of *Dvaitādvaita* along with the associated cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in Vaiṣṇavism' must have reached Orissa through its exponent Nimbārka in the 12th century A.D. and later developed by Jayadeva. But before Caitanya's arrival in Orissa, the cult of Gopinātha was quite popular among the *Vaiṣṇavas* of Utkala, who followed the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and belonged to *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school. A central school of Gopinātha worship was introduced at Remuṇā (Balasore district) which was previously a political centre. The Alālapur grant of Narasiṃhadeva-II was made in favour of one Koṣādhyakṣa named Hastāyudha in the *śaka* year 1215 (1293 A.D.)[172] He issued another grant to a Brāhmaṇa, called Vṛhatkumāra-mahāpātra Bhīmadeva Śarman. At Remuṇā-kaṭaka,[173] there is a temple of Gopinātha. So also in south Kaliṅga there is another temple of the same deity worshipped near the Narasiṃhanātha temple at Simhācalam. In the *śaka* year 1202 (1280 A.D.); one Meḍamādevi, the wife of Rāyaballabha Mahāsenapati

invoked Gopinātha in the following verse :

"गोपीनाथस्सदा पायात् कमलानन्दकन्दुक: ।
वासुदेवप्रतीराजं पुण्यपण्यगृहं सदा ।।(174)

The Gopināthapur inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva, invokes Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa (Bāla-Gopāla) as follows :

"मौली चञ्चलचूलिनी तिलकिनी भाले मुखे हासिनी
कण्ठे मौक्तिकमालिनी मलयजै: प्रत्यङ्गमालेपिनी ।
हस्ताब्जे नवनीतनी चरणयो: क्रीडारसानर्त्तिनी
जीयाच्छैशवशोभिनी चिदमला गोपाङ्गनालिङ्गिनी ।।"(175)

That was the period when the Gopinātha cult was popular in Rajasthan also. An inscription of Chitorgarh invokes Acyuta or Gopinātha with Rādha in 1427 A.D. as follows :

"कालिन्दीतटकुञ्जबद्धवसति: सेयं प्रिया राधिका
स्मर्त्तव्यं ननु रूक्मिणी न भवतीह चारुहासिन्यसि ।
युक्तं नासि कलावती सुविदितं त्वं सत्यभामेऽन्यथा
नोक्तासीति विनिहृतोक्तमुदित श्लेषोऽच्युत: पातु व: ।।"(176)

The ancient worship of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was merged in Rādhā-Govinda worship, which inspired the *Vaiṣṇavas* after the 13th century when Jayadeva's Gītagovinda had attained popularity. Inspite of prevalence of that faith and ritualism in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha, the original *sampradāya* mark (*citā*) used by the *Śrī- Vaiṣṇavas* was not dissipated from *Śrīmandira*. It is believed that Rāmānuja visited Purī to appoint one of his disciples in a *maṭha* to propagate his philosophy of Vedānta. It has been recorded in an unpublished palm-leaf manuscript, entitled 'Totādri-Maṭha-Guru-Paramparā.' Rāmānuja's sacred mark (*tilaka=citā*) is painted on the forehead of Śrī Jagannātha. It is done in every year of the auspicious day of *'Citālāgi-Amāvasyā'* i.e. the new-moon day of *Śrāvaṇa*.

After the revised cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, the *Gopi-Candana-Tilaka'* was introduced in the Śrīmandira. But the *Vaiṣṇavas* of Viśiṣṭādvaita school, who established their seat at Alālanātha and the *mahantas* of Rāmānuja school did not

change their customary *tilaka.* The former system of worhsip of Gopinātha and Lakṣmī was slowly revised in Utkala after the arrival of Śrī-Caitanya to Purī. He accepted the Gajapati king Pratāparudra as one of his disciples and propagated Nāma-saṅkīrttana, which according to him, was the only source to attain *mokṣa* (freedom from worldly bondage) in the *kali* age. It was not hard to be performed by the common mass, especially the village folk. Many songs on *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* were composed to attract the mass.

In an Oriya inscription of the Jagannātha temple of Purī, a proclamation was made by king Pratāparudra that Jayadeva's Gītagovinda should be sung in the temple; no other song should be entertained :

"वीरवर श्रीप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहाराजाङ्कर समस्त ४ अङ्क श्राहि ककडा सु १० बुधवारे अवधारित आइँगा(ज्ञा)प्रमाणे वड ठाकुरङ्क गीतगोविन्दठाकुरभोगवेले ए नाट होइव। संज्ञ(ज)धूप हेलाठारु वडसिंगार परिजन्ते ए नाट होइव। बडठाकुरङ्क सम्परदा कपिलेश्वर सम्परदा एमाने सभिहें बडठाकुरङ्क गीतगोविन्दहुँ आनगीत न शिखिवे। आनगीत न गाइवे। आन नाट होइ परमेश्वरङ्क च्छामुरे न हेव। ए नाट वितिरेक वइष्णव गाआण चारिजण अछन्ति। एमाने गीतगोविन्द गीतहिँ से गाइवे। आनगीत न शिखिवे। एहा ये परीक्षा। आन गीत नाट कराइले जाणि से जगन्नाथङ्क द्रोह करइ....."[177]

It means that in the 4th *aṅka* year (c.1500 A.D.) and on the 10th day of bright fortnight of *Kakaḍā* and Wednesday, he ordered that the Gītagovinda should be sung with dance when the worship (*bhoga*) of *Baḍaṭhākura* (Balabhadra) would be performed and that that should continue from the evening *dhūpa* upto *baḍasiṅgāra* (grand adoration). The group of musicians, called *Baḍa-ṭhākura-sampradāya* and that of *Kapileśvara-sampradāya* should not sing songs other than the Gītagovinda. No dance should be performed at the front of *Parameśvara* (the great lord), other than the stipulated style of dance.

In that year he (Pratāparudra) had defeated Husain Shah the king of Gauḍa, who attempted to invade Jājnagar (Orissa).[178] After this, he marched to the south, when the king of Vijayanagara attacked some forts at the southern borders of his kingdom. Taking advantage of his absence from the headquarters, Husain Shah invaded the northern border of Utkala. This time, Husain Shah deputed Ismail Ghazi, who is said to have advanced as far as Purī to plunder. But, his attempt

was not successful as Pratāparudra returned from the south without any loss of time. Meanwhile Caitanya's visit to Orissa, probably incurred a sudden loss in his strategical power due to diversion of his mind from war to peace, while he became a disciple of Caitanya. The later's attempt to create unity between the Muslims and the Hindus was not fruitful. Even a Hindu king, Krushnadeva Roy of Karṇāta did not support his philosophy, as he subjugated the entire Gajapati dominion from Siṃhācalam to Pānnār in the south-India.

Pratāparudra followed the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. He worshipped Rādhā as the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. Jīvagosvāmi wrote in his notes on 'Brahma-saṃhitā', stating that 'Rādhā was the great eternal energy (*Parama-śakti*) of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, since she is not different from Durgā :

"ज्ञानात्येका परा कान्ता सैव दुर्गा तदात्मिका ।
या परा परमा शक्तिर्महाविष्णुस्वरूपिणी ॥(179)

The usual number of festivals in the temple was amplified in course of time and Caitanya was considered as a close associate of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. The contemporary Oriyā poets (the *Pañca-sakhās*) including Jagannātha Dāsa, the famous writer of Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Oriyā language, which was accepted by all peoples of Orissa for holy recitation, also accepted the same fact. The palm-leaf manuscript of that Purāṇa was preserved by the rural folk in Bhāgavata-ṭuṅgi, where it was recited daily at the stipulated time and was worshipped. In the premises of Śrī Jagannātha temple too, the Oriyā Bhāgavata had was recited daily in the holy month of *Kārttika* (October-November), when hundreds and thousands of widows assembled to perform the *'Kārttika-Vrata'* and observe *'haviṣya'* (the practice of one meal per day).

Jagannātha Dāsa was respected by Caitanya, who called him 'too great' (*Atibaḍi*) among the *Vaiṣṇavas.* Like Jagannātha Dāsa, many poets of Orissa enhanced the *Vaiṣṇava* literature in Oriyā language. Caitanya's philosophy was based on *'prema-bhakti'* (devotion with love) and *'nāma-saṅkīrttana'* (repeatedly utterance of the names of Hari in musical process). That philosophy attracted Prātaparudra Gajapati and Rāmānanda Rāya, who was posted at Rājamahendry as a governor of that region. The latter paid more attention in religion than in

administration. He wrote a drama entitled 'Jagannātha-Ballabha' in Sanskrit. At that time another poet called Kavikarṇapura wrote a drama in Sanskrit entitled 'Caitanya-candrodaya', on allegorico-philosophical and quasi-historical basis in ten acts. The text of that drama starts with an incident in which *'kali'* (evil-age) and *adharma* (disbelief) have complained that on account of the preachings of Caitanya, their rule was losing power. Immediately, Caitanya himself appears as a demi-god with his disciples for the purpose of propagating the right principles".[180] King Pratāparudra was also present along with the divine figures as a character in the drama. The new philosophy propagated by Caitanya appealed to many people of Utkala, resulting introduction of some additional rituals concerning Kṛṣṇa's *bālya-līlā* (events of boyhood of Kṛṣṇa at Gopapura and Mathurā) in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha. That was the precise time when the Gajapati kings of Orissa lost their soverign right on some southern tracts beyond the rivers Krishna and Godavarī and that was also the time when the Sūryavaṃśī rule ended in Utkala together with her military strength and prerogative power of imperialism. One Govinda Vidyādhara ascended the throne of Utkala by using the glorious title[181] of the Sūryavaṃśī kings in 1533 A.D. He also become a worshipper of Śrī Puruṣottama while ruling over the country for 16 years.

25. AFTER UTKALA LOST INDEPENDENCE :-

According to the Mādalā Pāñji, collected by Ramāprasad Chanda, Pratāpadeva, the son of Govinda Vidyādhara, ascended the throne in 1545 A.D. But, the Mādālā Pāñji of the 'Prāchi Samiti publication' gives a different date about it. We may hardly believe that in Puruṣottama-kṣetra, Pratapadeva's father could have promised before Lord Jagannātha to exempt the people of Rājā Mahendravarman from levying the marriage tax. Such a promise is found recorded in an inscription of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣārāma in the east-Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. Govinda Vidyādhara halted in the south to fight with the powerful Muslim army of *sultan* Quli Qutab Shah of Golkonda. Referring to some Muslim records, Robert Swell states that; "Quli Qutab Shah of Golkonda made war on Orissa and inflicted defeat on the Gajapati king in a battle near Rājamahendry. The king of Orissa sued for peace and ceded to Golkonda the whole of the territory lying between the Godavari and Krishna rivers."

The Mādalā Pāñji states that Govinda Vidyādhara halted in the south for 18 months. During his absence, one Raghubhañja fraudulently occupied the throne of Utkala. Hearing this, Govinda returned from south to save his kingdom. All these conflicting events caused Utkala to be more weak and frail. Then a powerful prince of the Chalukya dynasty, Makundadeva Haricandana (Teleṅgā) by name, came to the throne in 1559 A.D. and ruled for nine years upto 1568 A.D. From an inscription of the Bhīmeśvara temple of Drākṣārāma, we know that Mukundadeva was victorious in a fight with the Muslim rulers of Gauḍa in his 10th *anka* year (1566-67 A.D.). He made sixteen *mahā-dānas* at the bank of the Gaṅgā (Huguly).

Orissa lost her independence soon after Mukundadeva was murdered in 1568 A.D. The capital Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka was captured by the Muslim *sultan* of Bengal. He had invaded Orissa with his commendar Kalāpāhāḍa, an aberrated person, who, after destructing the fort of Bārabāṭi, proceeded to *Śrī-kṣetra*, where he killed a large number of innocent Hindus irrespective of men, women and children. Purī was desolated after their houses were burnt. Then, Kalāpāhāḍa plundered the store of *Śrī-mandira* and despatched the deities of Śrī Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā on a bullock-cart to the bank of the Gaṅgā (the Huguly), where the sacred images were burnt into ashes. It is told that one Biśara Mahanti of Kujanga, who was a devotee of Śrī Jagannātha, could not remain as a silent spectator, and secretly followed the bullock-cart in which the deites were being carried. He waited at a distance from the place where the images were being put into fire. After the men of Kalāpāhāḍa left the ground, he slowly approached that place and searched for the sacred *Brahma* (the *Śālagrāma-śilā*), which were kept in the cavity of the wooden image of Śrī Jagannātha. After securing the *Śalagrāma-śila*, lying under the ashes, Biśara Mahanti returned back to his home at Kujanga village. There he adored the sacred object until Ramacandradeva of Bhoi dynasty ascended the throne of Khurda and resurrected the great temple of Purī, after installing the newly built images through the process of *Nava-kalevara*. Rāmacandradeva was nominated as the *Rājā* of Khurdā by Mānasing, who was sent to Orissa from Delhi by the Mughal emperor Akbar to establish peace in that disturbed country of Utkala and to select a competent ruler who would be capable to set right the administration of the great Jagannātha temple at Purī. Rāmacandradeva had immediately started

the work of renovation of the trinity with a view to instal them in the vacant *'Ratna-siṃhāsana'* of *Śrī-mandira*. For his glorious work, the people of Utkala had called him "Indradyumnāvatāra" (incarnation of king Indradyumna).

According to the Mādālā Pāñji, the new deities were set up with great jubilation. The rituals of the temple with more additional celebrations secured the past glory of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. After Rāmacandradeva, the temple administration and festivals were subjected to rise and fall during the Mughal and Marahaṭṭā regimes till recently the Government of Orissa introduced the 'Sri Jagannatha Temple Act' in 1955. This Act was brought into force on the 27th December, 1955.

26. THE FESTIVALS OF LORD JAGANNĀTHA :

The total number of important festivals, performed in the temple of Śrī Jagannātha at Purī ever since the wooden images were installed in or about the 13th century A.D., is twelve as is described in the following verse :

''मञ्चस्नानं रथवरगति: शायनं चायने द्वे
पार्श्वावृत्ति: शयपरिहृति: प्रावृति: पुष्यपूजा ।
दोलाकेलिर्दमनकमहोऽक्षय्यपुण्यतृतीया
यात्रा: स्कान्दे हरिप्रतिमयोर्द्वादशेति प्रणीता: ।।''(182)

Those twelve important festivals are performed on the following dates :

1. Snāna-yātrā :- On the full moon day of *Jyeṣṭha*.
2. Ratha-yātrā : - On the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha*.
3. Śayana :- On the *ekādaśī tithi* of the bright half of *Āṣāḍha*.
4. Dakṣiṇāyana : - On *Karkaṭa saṅkārānti* (in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*).
5. Pārśva-parivarttana :- On the *ekādaśī tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada*.

In the month of *Āśvina*, two important festivals, namely *'Daśaharā'* and *'Kumāra-pūrṇamī'* are performed. But, they are not included in the *'Dvādaśa-yātrā'* (twelve festivals), mentioned in the Purāṇic scriptures and Dharma-śāstrās of the 15th century. Hence we presume that *Kumārostava* (*Kumāra-pūrṇamī*) festival

was added after the 15th century, making its number 13 instead of 12.

6. Devotthapanotsava :- On the *ekādaśī tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika.*
7. Oḍhaṇa-ṣaṣṭhi : - On the 6th *tithi* of the *Mārgaśira.*
8. Puṣyābhiṣeka :- On the full moon day of *Pauṣa.*
9. Uttarāyaṇa :- On *Makara saṅkrānti* (in the month of *Māgha*).
10. Dolostava :- On the full-moon day of *Phālguna.*
11. Damanaka-Caturdaśī :- On the *caturdaśī tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Caitra.* and
12. Akṣaya-tṛtīyā :- On the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* (*Candana-yātrā*).

An important festival like *'Kumāra-pūrṇamī'* was excluded from the list making *Āśvina* a barren month. The *Vaiṣṇava* priests might have added the *Ratha-yātrā* in the list so as to make the number twelve for counting in par with the twelve monthts of a year. Perhaps, in the 13th century, when the Car festival gained superiority among the festivals, it was substituted in place of *Kumāra-pūrṇamī.* Consequently, the month of *Āṣāḍha* contained two festivals, while *Āśvina* had become a month devoid of any important festival. Sometime later, however, *Kumāra-pūrṇamī* was added in the list for which in Oriyā it formed a slogan namely *'Bāra-māsare-tera-yātrā'* i.e. 'thirteen festivals in twelve months' within a year.

"आश्विने पौर्णमास्यान्तु चरेज्जागरणं निशि;
कौमुदी सा समाख्याता कार्या लोकविभूतये ॥
कौमुद्यां पूजयेल्लक्ष्मीमिन्द्रमैरावते स्थितम् ।
सुगन्धैर्निशि सद्वेशैरक्षैर्जागरणं चरेत् ॥(183)

Among all the festivals, performed in the temple of Śrī Puruṣottama Jagannātha, the Car fesitval is pompous and famous. It starts from the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha* for nine days and is called *'Śrī Guṇḍicā-yātrā'.* It is held just a day after *Netrotsava* or the festival of painting the eyes of the deities. This painting was necessary because the colours, black, white and red or yellow were obliterated by wash of the wooden images during the *Snāna festival* on the *Snāna-vedi.* Soon after the *Snāna-yātrā,* the deities were kept hidden in a

closed compartment under the care of *'daitās'* (*suddha-savaras*). Those *daitās* were appointed to prepare some special type of offerings for the said deities, as long as they remained in the *anavasara* chamber. In the previous volume, we have discussed about the tribal *Savaras* who were recruited to fight with the Muslim invadors and also to take care of the wooden anthropomorphized images. Those *savaras*, after being employed as *daitās*, were also employed to take care of the images of the deities, just when those deities were removed from the *Snāna-vedī* into the *anavasara* (resting) chamber. This system of confining the deites for 15 days in a secluded compartment and allowing none except a few tribals (*daitās*), is not practised in any other Hindu temple.

In Orissa, it is the day of *'Tila-saptami'* when a grand festival is performed at the river Candrabhāgā near the Sun-temple of Konārka. The devotees take bath in the sacred *tīrtha* (*Mahodadhi*) and stand on the shore to look at the eastern horizon for a panoramic picture of *'Suryodaya'* (rise of the Sun), which is visible in a clear sky. On that day no special ritual is performed in the temple of Jagannātha at Purī except a separate *naivedya* or *bhoga* offered to the Sun-god in the *Surya-mandira* located in the premises of *Śrī-mandira*. In consideration of the above fact, the *'Rathotsava'* is not held in Orissa on the day of *Māgha-śukla-saptamī*.

Among the other festivals of Śrī Jagannātha at Purī, *'Dolotsava'* seems to be an important festival, next to *Rathotsava*. In an inscription of the Nṛsimha temple (No.12), there is the mention of *'Govinda-dola'* in the *śaka* year 1058 (1136 A.D.) as quoted below :

"शाकाब्दे वसु-बाण-सेन्दुगणिते कृष्णाद्वितीयामुखे ।
प्रादाच्छ्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुणवत् गोविन्ददोलादिने ।।"(184)

On that day, one Kāmadeva-sudhi granted five *niṣkas* of gold coin for installation of a perpetual lamp (*akhaṇḍa-dīpa*) in front of Śrī Puruṣottama. Unfortunately, the name of the month is not given; although the second *tithi* of dark fortnight is mentioned. But we presume that *Dolotsava* was performed in grand style in the temple of Jagannātha and also in all Viṣṇu temples on the tenth

tithi of *Phālguna* (February), which festival was prolonged for five days upto the full-moon day of that month. But, *Dolotsava*, according to the above inscription, was performed in the beginning of the second *tithi* of dark fortnight. Therefore, we presume that the said festival was referred to as *'Pañca-Dola'*, which continued just after the full-moon day of *Phālguna* for five days i.e. upto the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Caitra* (March). According to the 'Amanta' system followed by the south-Indian people, basing on their separate almanacs, the second *tithi* of *Govinda-Dola* was performed in the dark half of the lunar month of *Phālguna*. Therefore, we believe that in 1136 A.D., the said festival was performed in *Caitra* (*Pañcā Dola*).

In the begining of *Caitra* (*kṛṣna-pratipadā*), the festivals of *Holi* and *Candana-yātrā* start in *Śrī-mandira*. The deity Dolagovinda is taken into the inner sanctum of *Śrī-mandira* after the mid-day *dhūpa*. Then, the *ājñā-māla* is secured by a *'pandā'* for Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Madana-mohana, after which they are taken on a *vimāna* to the *cakaḍā* (pedestal) near the Narendra tank. There, they are adored and taken back to *Śrī-mandira*. After Madana-mohana is placed on a *dola* (cradle), then He, with the two female deities, is carried into the respective sanctums.

In the ancient days, the same *Dola-yātrā* was called *'Vasantotsava'*. It was a great customary festival of the Hindus throughout India. The *Vasantotsava* was well described in a Sanskrit drama called 'Ratnāvali' of the 7th century A.D., composed by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harṣavardhana. On the days of that festival, the un-married boys and girls worshipped Kāmadeva, the demi-god of love (Cupid). In modern days, people make merriment of *'Holi'* all over India. They believe that Gopīs had played *Holi* with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa in Gokula-vana or Vṛndāvana (U.P.).

After the said *utsava* (*Holi*), the *Candana-yātrā* is another famous festival, which begins from *Akṣaya-tṛtīyā*, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*. It is performed for twenty-one days i.e. upto the close of the spring season. In *Candana-yātrā*, the deities, Madana-mohana, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, in one *vimana* and Kṛṣṇa and Balarama in another, are carried to the Narendra tank where they are placed in two decorated boats, artistically built like swiming swans. Then, the boats are swung round the tank with jubilations of music and dance. Therefore, the *Vasantotsava* is performed for eighteen days after *Govindā-dola* (credal-festival)

of *Caitra-Pūrṇamī*. The *Candana-yātrā* is a happy function which sweeps away the summer fatigue from the minds of the people.

The next important festival is *Utthāna-Dvādaśī*, which was called '*Devotsava-Dvādaśī*'. On that day, Lord Viṣṇu rises from bed, after four months rest on bed. The moment of His rise from bed, has been assigned in *Dharmaśāstras* to the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*, when the star Revati sets in the night and the twelveth *tithi* begins. The Haribhaktivilasa states:

"रेवत्यन्तो यदा रात्रौ द्वादश्यां च समर्थित: ।
तदा विवुध्यते विष्णुर्दिनान्ते प्राप्य रेवतीम् ।।
रेवत्यादिरथान्तो वा द्वादश्यां च विना भवेत् ।
उभयोरप्यभावे नु सन्ध्यायां च महोत्सव: ।।[185]

This festival is strictly observed by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas with great vigour and jubilation. After the appointment of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in Viṣṇu temples, namely Simhācalam and Śrīkūrmam by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, Somala Mahādevī, the queen of Coḍagaṅga had presented in 1108 A.D., a perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple of Madhukeśvara entitling him as Jagatanātha (Lord of the world),[186] which title was used for Śrī Puruṣottama, some time after the 13th century. It is interesting to note that an incompleted *praśasti* of Śrī Jagannātha was used from the time of Narasiṃhadeva-II, in whose inscriptions he had begun to mention the title of the great Lord as "*Caturdaśa-bhuvanādhipati*" (the Lord of fourteen worlds). On that auspicious day i.e. *dvādaśī* in *Śrīmandira*, the *utsava-vigrahas* are kept separately under a sealed packet in '*khaṭa-śeja-ghara*' (the sleeping quarter of the Lord, where the cot and the bed are kept). The *yātrā* images should be brought out in three silver plates for the performance of *Snāna-yātrā* with adoration. On that day, after *mahāsnāna*, those three silver images should be placed on the *Ratna-siṃhāsana* when all the other three deities are adorned with sandle-wood paste and dressed with new garments. Then, all the six images are worshiped under '*ṣoḍaśa upacāra*'. From inscriptional evidence it is known that, endowments of perpetual lamps were granted by devotees in the Śiva temple of Madhukeśvara and the Visnu temple of Śrīkūrmam. In the Nṛsiṃha temple of Purī such endowments were also granted by devotees. Some examples are given below:

1. In the 37th *śrāhi* (*aṅka*) of Coḍagaṅgadeva (=1111 A.D.), one Kommi Nāyaka granted a perpetual lamp in the temple of Madhukeśvara.(187)
2. In the 52nd *śrāhi* of Coḍagaṅgadeva (= 1126 A.D.) one Mādāṅḍi, son of Avaliṅga-poli-seṭhi had granted a perpetual lamp in the same temple.(188)
3. In the 53rd *śrāhi* of Coḍagaṅgadeva (= 1127 A.D.), one Diviyalakandai granted a perpetual lamp in the same temple at Mukhaliṅga.(189)
4. In the *śaka* year 1053 (=1131 A.D.) and Coḍagaṅga's 57 *śrāhi*, one of his officers granted a perpetual lamp when *Mahādvādaśī* was associated with *Vyatipāta-yoga*, in the same temple.(190)
5. In 1131 A.D., one Mara-poṭu-Nāyaka granted a perpetual lamp in the same temple.(191)

In an inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple (at Purī), the wife of one Nārāyaṇa Mahākavi granted a perpetual lamp to Śrī Puruṣottama in 1113 A.D.(192) In the same temple in 1133 A.D., one Nārāyaṇa-sudhi also granted a perpetual lamp to Śrī Puruṣottama on the sacred day of *Mahādvādaśī*.(193)

Some *Vaiṣṇava* kings also granted lands on that pious day to *Brāhmaṇas*. We may cite the Kumurakelā charter of Rāṇaka Śatrubhañja, who was a Parama-Vaiṣṇava and a ruler of Khiñjili-maṇḍala. He granted two villages called Jaintamura and Kumurakelā situated near Uḍrapalli, to one Brahmacārī Bhaṭṭa Manoratha, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of Kaśyapa *gotra*, as quoted below :

"....विदितमस्तु तत्र भवतां उड्रपल्लीप्रतिबद्धः जैन्तमुरा समेतः कुमुरकेलाग्रामः चतुःसीमापर्यन्तः सन्निधिश्चोपनिधिश्च कार्त्तिक-शुक्लपक्ष-महाद्वादश्यां विष्णुभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुरःसरेण विधिना काश्यपसगोत्राय गर्ग-आपण्याङ्गीरसप्रवराय बह्वृचचरणाय वङ्कुटीविनिर्गताय गन्धप्तपाटि-वास्तव्याय सब्रह्मचारिणे भट्टमनोरथाय भट्टनारायणसुताय राणक-श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवदत्त..... ताम्रशासन......"(194)

In another copper-plate, the same king (Śatrubhañjadeva) in *samvat* 198 (=934 A.D.) had granted a village on the occasion of *Devotsava-dvādaśī* to a *Brāhmaṇa*, who migrated from Śrīkheḍa of Dakṣiṇa-patha (south-India) and settled in Oḍijoṅga (village). Another kiṅg Jayabhañja of the same Khinjili-maṇḍala, had granted from Kolāda-kaṭaka, a village called Reṅgaraḍā to a *Brāhmaṇa* named

Daivajña (Jyotiṣa) Jagadhara, son of Paṇḍita Dharādhara, who migrated from Pāṭavāḍa-pāṭaka of Koṭarāvaṅga-*viṣaya* in Dakṣina Toṣali, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Jyeṣṭha*. In that inscription there are three panegyric verses of Jayabhañja as quoted below :

"स्वस्ति श्रीगुणसंघसंयुततरे लोकाभिकीर्त्त्योत्तमे
लक्ष्मीर्यत्र निवासिनी सुविरला जाताश्च वीरोत्तमा: ।
धर्म्मो यत्र सदा स्थितो रिपुजय: ख्यात: क्षितौ सर्वदा
वंशे भञ्जसुसंज्ञके रिपुहरि: श्रीवीरभञ्जोऽभवत् ।।
तत्सूनुदेवद्विजपूजनरत: श्रीरायभञ्जो नृप:
दुर्व्वारारिनरेन्द्रदर्पदलनो वीर्येण शक्रोपम: ।
तत्पुत्रो जयदेवभञ्जनृपति राज्ञां शिर:शेखर:
रूपैर्यो मदनोपम: क्षितितले दानैश्च कर्णोपम: ।।
मानैश्चापि सुयोधनोपमगत: शक्रोपमो विक्रमै:
दुर्व्वारारि-कुरङ्गमारणहरि: श्रीशंकरे भक्तिमान् ।
भक्तो वै पितृ-मातृ-पादयुगले श्रीवैष्णव: साम्प्रतम्
स च महामण्डलेश्वर-सर्वगुणालंकृत श्रीमद् राजा जयभञ्जदेव: कुशली..."(195)

From that inscription, we pick up that the Bhañja kings of Khiñjili-mandala were formerly the devotees of Śaṅkara (Śiva), but later they adopted Vaiṣṇavism. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of Rāmānuja school had arrived at Khiñjili-maṇḍala sometime before, in the life time of Jayabhañja, who was a contemporary of Mahārāja-Anaṅgabhīma-III, and belonged to the 13th century. The donee, Jagadhara, son of Dharādhara-śarman of Mādhyandina-*śākhā* of Yajurveda and Bharadvāja-*gotra*, Āṅgirasa-*pravara*, who was a resident of Pāṭavāḍa-pāṭaka was the same donee, recorded in the Kapoteśvara plates of Anaṅgabhīma - III,(196) who had donated lands to several *Brāhmaṇas* including Jagadhara-śarman, son of Dharādhara-śarman, grandson of Śrīdhara-śarman and great-grandson of Ananta-śarman, a student of Yajurveda-mādhyandina-*śākhā*. The donees Jagadhara-śarman had the title of 'Vājapeyin'. Mahārāja Anaṅgabhīma had granted him a *śāsana* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse at Śrī Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The brother of said Bhañja king Jayabhañja, named Yaśabhañja had issued a grant on the occasion of *Kārttika-śukla-ekādaśī*, which was a festival day of Viṣṇu's rise from bed. The grantee of that inscription is also Jagadhara Śarman, son of Dharādhara and grandson of

Śrīdhara-śarman, residents of the same Pāṭavāḍa-pāṭaka *śāsana*. These three copper-plates render a clear evidence that the Bhañja kings of Kulāḍa (Ghumsur) were, like the Gaṅga kings, influenced by Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas and they granted lands to *Brāhmaṇas* on the auspicious day of *Devotthāpana-ekādaśī* corresponding to *Karttika-śukla-ekādaśī*. Thus, we believe that the south-Indian *ālvārs* had played an important role in the religious affairs of Utkala. According to the "Prabandha four thousands" by *ālvars* in the old Tamil literature, there were 108 places of worship, sacred to Lord Viṣṇu. Dr. N. Rameshan says; "This literature throws considerable light on the early history of Tirumala. The whole body of literature can be said to refer roughly.... from 300 to 800 A.D. Within this period the *ālvārs* had written a large number of poetry. In the 9th century, those *ālvārs* of the Perumal temple had migrated to Utkala (Oḍra). They converted the Bhañja kings of Khiñjili-maṇḍala into Vaiṣṇavism; whereafter the installation of a Viṣṇu image called Nīla Mādhava at Gandharābāḍi had taken place.

The Mādhava worship was popular in Utkala before the 7th century A.D. In the Śailodbhava dynasty there was a king named Mādhava-varman in whose *praśasti* he was compared with the god 'Cakradhara Mādhava', as quoted below :

"....सकलकलिङ्गाधिपत्य: सकलकलावाप्तकौमुदीव जगतां प्रमद: प्रवृत्तश्चक्रधर इव भगवान् माधव: श्रीमाधवराज:......"(197)

After extermination of the Śailodbhavas from Koṅgada, the Bhaumakara kings had occupied that country. They possessed the overlordship of Toṣāli. Many subordinate princes lived under them. One of them was Indravarman of the Śvetaka-Gaṅga family, who granted some landed property to maintain a twin-temple of Loka-mādhava (Viṣṇu) and Svayambhakeśvara (Śiva), His queen was entitled as 'Parama-Vaiṣṇavi', although the king used the title of 'Parama-Māheśvara' (devotee of Śiva).

The *ālvārs* of south-India, as noted before, were responsible for propagation of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the countries of Śvetaka-Gaṅgas and Bhañjas in about the 9th century. The 6th *ālvār* (Bhūtam-*ālvār*) of Tirumal had composed a Pravandham,

describing the images of Viṣṇu, from the 70th to 78th stanzas of which the last one mentioned about the figure of Tirumala Veṅkateśvara-svāmī of 'Veṅgaḍam'. The Viṣṇu image of the Veṅgaḍam hill is the same as the image of Mādhava of Utkala, who holds *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in two upper hands and *varada* and *gadā* in the lower hands. With the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in Utkala and Kaliṅga, when Śaivism was a popular religion in that country of the Gaṅgas, Bhañjas and Somavaṃśīs, probably to appease the *Śaivas* and *Vaiṣṇavas*, the 'Hari-Hara' worship was introduced by Indravarman, who built a twin-temple as stated above.

The Bhañja kings also built a twin-temple for Nīla-mādhava (Hari) and Siddheśvara (Hara) in Gandharābāḍi. Although Dr. H.V. Stietencron admits that 'such twin-temples for Nīla-Mādhava Viṣṇu and Siddheśvara Śiva were built on the bank of the Mahanadi river at Gandharāḍi in the territory of the Bhañjas of Khiñjili", he over-looked to notice that the Somavaṃśī king Yayāti Mahāśivagupta had followed the same track of the Bhañjas in building the same type of twin-temples of Nīla-Mādhava and Siddheśvara at Kanṭilo on the bank of Mahanadi, after shifting his capital from Suvarṇapura to Yayātinagara. However, we fully agree with the suggestion of Dr. Stietencron that 'this concept became extremely important in the history of Orissan religion, as it provided the basis for the Jagannātha trinity.

We have stated before that the icon of Viṣṇu in the form of Nīla Mādhava, Mudgala-Mādhava, Śveta-Mādhava, Loka-Mādhava, Matsya-Mādhava etc. resembles the structure of Viṣṇu images, found in south-India, such as Tirumal-veṅgaḍa (Veṅkateśvara of Tirupati), Śrīraṅgam and Guruvāyoor of Kerala. There was a close unity in the structural figures between the images of Mādhava in Orissa and those of south India. Therefore, some festivals which prevailed in the south are common in Orissa. While invoking the 108 names of Lord Veṅkateśvara Svāmī in Tirupati the following names are included :

1. "श्रीनीलाद्रिनिलयाय श्रीवेङ्कटाय नमः"
2. "श्रीबलभद्राय श्रीवेङ्कटाय नमः"
3. "श्रीमार्कण्डेयमहातीर्थजातपुण्यप्रदाय श्रीवेङ्कटाय नमः"(198)

All these titles are applicable to Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī. Therefore, the compactness and religious affinity became indispensable between Nilādrinātha (Puruṣottama-Jagannātha) and Veṅgaḍadrinātha (Veṅkateśvara) of Tirupati; because both the figures are the same, representing the feature of 'Mādhava'.

The customary rituals in the temples of Viṣṇu are equally performed according to the rules of *Dharmaśāstra*, although a few festivals differ owing to local practices in some parts of the country. For instance, the *'Rathotsava'* (Car festival) is not performed in the South in the same manner as it is being performed in Utkala. In the southern temples, the *utsava-vigrahas* are taken round the streets on different carriages named *'Sūrya-prabhā'*, *'Garuda'*, *'Hastī'*, etc. In the Viṣṇu temples of Kāñci, Tirupati, Śrīraṅgam etc., the *'Brahmotsavam'* is performed in a grand style equal to *Rathotsava* in Purī. The former festival in Tirupati starts in the Tamil month *'Purottasi'* commencing on the day of *'Chillarou'* and continues for nine days like the *'Rathayātrā'*. That festival called *Brahmotsava* was introduced in the 10th century and the number of days of that festival has gradually extended from two to ten.

In the temple of Varāha-Narasiṃha at Śīmhācalam, the *'Kalyāṇotsava'* or *'Mahotsava'* was started from the 11th day of *Caitra* (March) for five days. It is an important festival called *Rathostava* and is conducted upto *ekādaśī-tithi* of the said month, when the wedding ceremony of the deities (Govindarāja with Lakṣmī and Bhūdevī) is performed during the night of the same *tithi*. Before entering into the marriage hall, the Lord is taken round the village on the temple-car (*ratha*), specially decorated for the occasion. The car with the deities are dragged by devotees, who associate themselves in the procession that start for the wedding ceremony. Then, there occurs the *'Candana-yātrā'* in a great pomp.

27. THE NETROTSAVA AND CAR FESTIVAL OF LORD JAGANNĀTHA :

On the next day of *Netrotsava*, in the temple of Puruṣottama- Jagannātha at Purī, *'Śrī Guṇḍicā-yātrā'* is performed. The deities are taken to their respective chariots being dragged to the Śrīguṇḍicā temple with a pompous festivity. Then, the deities remain there for nine days whien the *daitās* manage the day to day rituals, till the *Bāhuḍā-yātrā* (return journey) is accomplished and the festival is closed. Then, the deities are carried back into the temple (*Śrīmandira*) and installed on their respective seats. In consideration of those two gorgeous festivals, i.e., *Netrotsava* and *Śrīguṇḍicā-yātrā*, which are usually performed in the month of *Āṣāḍha*, we wonder as to why an inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple (No. 46) states that a king of the Matsya dynasty of Kadambagiri had donated some silver coins on the occasion of *Netrotsava* in the *śaka* year 1188 or 1266 A.D., in the month of *Bhādrapada* and not in *Āṣāḍha*. The Telugu passage of the said inscription runs as follows :

''समधिगतनिर्मल-मत्स्यकुलतिलक-मुकुन्दगिरि-नायकस्य नारंग्गमहाऋष्याश्रय कश्यपगोत्र-तनुज-सत्यमार्त्तण्ड रणरंग्गशरणागत वज्रपंजरूलु शकवरूषं वुलु 118 [8] यगुनिटि भाद्रपद बृहस्पतिवारमुन श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवर [चि] त्रलोचनयुत्सवमुलु कोल्व श्रीपाद [न][199]

It means that, among the Matsya kings, there lived a ruler at Mukundagiri...., (who being) sheltered by the mercy of Nāraṅga-maharṣi, belonged to Kaśyapa-*gotra*... (one) Satyamārtaṇḍa, the Raṇaraṅga and protector of those who take shelter under him. In the *śaka*-year 118(8), *Bhādrapada*, *Vṛhaspativāra* (Thursday), while the *'Citra-locana-utsava'* (painting of the eyes) of Śrī Puruṣottama-deva at his Śrī-pada...

Evidently, the *Nayanotsava* (*Netrotsava*) was performed in *śakāvda* 118(8) or 1266 A.D., when Narasiṃhadeva - I, or his son Bhānudeva - I, was ruling over Utkala and the deities were made of wood. How a painter (*citrakara*) could paint the eyes of Śrī Puruṣottama-Jagannātha in *Bhādrapada* instead of in *Āṣāḍha*, is a question, which may be solved if the theory regarding transfer of the stone images to anthropomorphous wooden images, is accepted.

In 1230 A.D., Anaṅgabhīmadeva -III, who consecrated the images of Lord

Puruṣottama (Puruṣottama, Balabhdra and Subhadrā) in that new temple, had established a close contact with the *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* of the Arulālā-Perumala temple, when he visited Kāñci in or before 1230 A.D.[200] Then, he and his wife donated some landed property to the *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* of Rāmānujācārya school who were brought to Orissa for propagation of *Śrī-Vaiṣṇava* cult. Some teachers of the said school might have lived in Khiñjali-maṇḍala under the patronage of the Bhañja kings. We have stated before that two copper-plate inscriptions were discovered from Antarigām near Bhanjanagar of Ganjam district, where the Bhañja kings resided in their capital at Kulāḍa-kaṭaka. According to the said copper-plates, a king named Jayabhañja, who was a devotee of Lord Śiva and who subsequently adopted 'Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism' had donated lands to some *Brāhmanas* of Pāṭabāḍa-pāṭaka *śāsana* in Utkala (Purī district). The same *Brāhmaṇa* also got donations from Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, according to Nagarī copper-plate grant.

Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, and his queen Somalā-mahādevī had jointly granted lands in Utkala to some *ālvārs* who migrated from south and settled in Utkala. Perhaps the queen Somalā-mahādevī had built the temple of Alālanātha at Brahmagiri, not far from Puruṣottama-kṣetra (Purī). Hence, we presume that the images of the trinity, installed in the main new temple of Purī, were consecrated by Anaṅgabhīmadeva and his queen, following the advise of the *ālvārs* who followed the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. Perhaps, they worshipped the four armed Mādhava holding *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā* and *varada*. From the *Śilpa-śāstras* namely Rūpa-maṇḍana and Padma Purāṇa (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) we have noticed that the Mādhava type of images were installed in different parts of Orissa. Hence, we believe that the image of Puruṣottama, installed in the main temple of Purī and in Alālanātha, corresponded to no other figure than that of Mādhava. If we compare them with the images of Tirupati, Tirumalai of Kāñci, Govindarāja of Siṃhācalam and also Śrī-raṅgam, we will find that those deities are not different from Mādhava.

Now our pertinent question is, whether in the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III or before, the great festival, *Śrī-Guṇḍicā* was being performed in Purī. In this regard, we should refer to some Dharmaśāstras, written before the 13th century, such as the 'Śatānanda-saṅgraham'. This was written by a great astronomer named Śatānanda, who lived in the second half of the 11th century or the first half of the

12th century A.D. He wrote another canonical work called 'Bhāsvatī', which has been used as a guide by the *pāñjikāras* (almanac writers) of Orissa only. According to Śatānanda, the important festivals, performed in Utkala are Kumāra Pūrṇimā, Balabhadra-janma, Kṛṣṇa-Janmāsṭami etc., but no mention of '*Ratha-yātrā*' (Car festival) is found in it. Similarly, the great *smṛti* writer, Śambhukara Vājapeyi, whose *Dharmaśāstra* was followed by his son, Vidyākara Vājapeyi, did not mention any thing about '*Śrī-Guṇḍicā*'. The only and the earliest Purāṇa in which the said festival is mentioned, is Brahma Purāṇa, written in the last half of the 13th century or in the first half of the 14th century A.D.. Basing on that work, the *smṛti* writer Raghunandana of Bengal, who lived in the 15th century, had given an elaborate account regarding the *Ratha-yātrā* of Purī. That was the period when the Sūryavaṃśī king Kapilendradeva, was ruling over this country. There are some accounts, which mention about the chariots, constructed for *Śrī - Guṇḍicā*, on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha*. But, the newly discovered Telugu inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple (No.46) as stated before, has disclosed that the '*Netrotsava*' of Lord Puruṣottama was performed in the month of *Bhādrapada*. Therefore, the present custom is grossly different from the above prescribed time of *Netrotsava*, which is an important festival now performed just a day before *Śrī - Guṇḍicā* in the month of *Āṣāḍha*. The said inscription of the Pātāleśvara temple of near about 1266 A.D. was issued in the reigning time of Narasimhadeva-I or his son Bhānudeva-I. Another inscription (No. 17) of the reigning period of Kāmārṇavadeva states that one Surapoṭu had installed a perpetual lamp in front of Śrī Puruṣottama at the Nṛsiṃha temple in the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Mithuna*. This date corresponds to the month of *Āṣāḍha* and *kṛṣna-pratipadā*, the day immediately after *Devasnāna-pūrṇamī*, when the deities are removed to a dark chamber during *anavasara* to remain there for fifteen days. The said Pātāleśvara temple inscription (No.19) mentions about the offering of food materials for *naivedya* of Śrī Puruṣottama in the 15th *śrāhi* of Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III (=1223 A.D.), in the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha*. This is another day, when the deities are worshiped at a far off place called '*Guṇḍicā-mandira*'. How therefore, the said offerings could be made for Lord Puruṣottama in the vacant *Śrīmandira* is the question. All the above referred to epigraphs lead us to conclude that the *Guṇḍicā-yātrā* was not performed before Narasiṃhadeva-I had come to the throne. It is also interesting to note here that the Car-festival of the

images made of wood called *'Dārubramha'* is held on those days when the aboriginal *daitās* are employed as His *sevakas* as long as the deities are absent from *'Ratna-simhāsana'*.

The Nīlādrimahodaya(201) states that after the *'Bāhuḍā-yātrā'*, the deities are to be taken from their respective chariots into the temple and placed on the *Siṃhāsana*. But Śrī Jagannātha has to stay near Garuḍa (the bird vehicle of Visnu), in the form of a bridegroom. Then Lakṣmī has to sit there in the role of a bride at His front. Lakṣmī has to be placed in the northern side facing Śrī Jagannātha whose seat is kept in the south, so that both can look to each other from a close range. The upper cloth on both of them is to be tied together by a knot (*gainṭhāla*) as is done in marriage. The following verses are quoted from the Nīlādrimahodaya:)

''उत्तराभिमुखं कृत्वा रमां दक्षिणदिङ्मुखीम् ।
रचयित्वा च यो राजन् परस्परनिरीक्षणम् ।।
मिथः शरीरवसनग्रन्थियोजनमाचरेत् ।
विवाहसप्तदिवसे मङ्गलाचरणं हृदा ।।
संचिन्त्य युगपद् भक्त्या तयोर्वन्दापनं चरेत् ।
ततो वन्दापनान्ते च सुवासितजलं पुनः ।।
पक्वताम्बूलनिचयं ताभ्यां दद्याच्च भक्तितः ।
तद्वस्त्रग्रन्थिश्लथनं कुर्यात्तावन्नृपोत्तम ।।''(202)

From this type of function it is evident that, the *Ratha-yātrā* is nothing but a part of the marriage ceremony of Śrī Jagannātha with Mahālakṣmī. Therefore, the *'Ghoṣa-yātrā'* should be a marriage procession of Jagannātha and His brother and sister. Similar festivals, called *Kalyāṇotsava* or *Rathotsava*, are also performed in several Viṣṇu temples of south-India. But, the difference between south-India and Orissa is that the festival in the south is performed in the month of *Caitra* (March-April), while in Orissa that is done in *Āṣāḍha* (July).

In the temple of Siṃhācalam, the *Kalyaṇotsava* is started from the 11th *tithi* of *Caitra* and that festival is also called *Rathotsava*. Dr. K. Sundaram writes that in the *Rathotsava*, before entering the marriage hall, the Lord is taken round the

village on the temple Car (*ratha*) specially decorated for the purpose. He is accompanied by his entourage consisting of priests, *boyās*, *nāyakas* and musicians. The *Rathotsava* is one of the highlights of the day and the devotees participate in the ceremony by dragging the *ratha*."

The festival of *Śrī-Guṇḍicā* is over after the marriage of Śrī Jagannātha with Lakṣmī. The word *'Guṇḍicā'* is probably, a compound Telugu word Gudi+ita meaning temple+here. The other meaning of *gudi* is a 'halo' of the Sun or the Moon. Formerly there was a pavilion made of wood called *Guṇḍicā-maṇḍapa* which had been constructed like a halo (round) of the Sun.

The Oḍradeśa-Rāja-Vaṃśāvali, states that a Gaṅga king named Kavi Narasiṃha (Narasiṃhadeva-II), had built three chariots instead of six, which were regularly being used in *Ratha-yātrā*. In the old age, there was a rivulet called 'Mālini' or 'Saradā', flowing in between *Śrīmandira* and *Guṇḍicā-mandira*, separating the *baḍadāṇḍa* (main-road) in two parts. To avoid the hardship of crossing over the rivulet by boat, king Narasiṃhadeva-II (1278-1309 A.D.) covered the said rivulet by sand and made the *baḍadāṇḍa* (grand-road) a straight thoroughfare from the *Guṇḍicā-maṇḍapa* to the main temple of Śrī Jagannātha.

Kavi Narasiṃhadeva-II, was not only a powerful king, but also a devotee of Viṣṇu (Hari). In the Kenduli-plates, his *praśasti* runs as follows :

"आकर्ण्य विश्वविबुधावलिकर्णकूप
संपूरणामृतवशार्पितमन्यमेव ।
वाचां विलासमसकृत् कविवल्लभस्य
वाचां यशो भवति वाच्य(क्य)तिरेव यस्य ।।

x x x

चतुस्त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यवनिवलयं निर्गतरिपुम्
निरातङ्को भुंक्त्वा हरिचरणसेवासुरसिकः ।
सुराधीशासार्द्धासनविहितसम्मानकुतुकम्
समस्ते यः सख्यं कविकुमुदचन्द्रो नरपतिः"(203)

We have no information, if the *Guṇḍicā-maṇḍapa* was re-constructed like a *pīḍhā-deula* in the Gaṅga or Gajapati period. Presumably, the Sūryavaṃśī Mahārāja Kapilendradeva constructed it in the form of a temple. After decline of the Solar dynasty, when Makundadeva of the Chalukyan dynasty came to the

throne, he might have planned to construct the *Jagamohana* which remained unfinished till Rājā Rāmacandradeva -II, of the Bhoyi clan came to the throne of Khurdā. During his reign, Bakṣi Veṇu-Bhramaravara Rāya had built the *Jagamohana* by using the stone pillars, made by Makundadeva. It was done in 1729 A.D.[204]

Now, let us go to our main topic *'Rathostava'* in south-India. A marriage festival called *'Kalyaṇotsavam'* is performed in Tirupati. The god sits in the form of a bridegroom, while His right wrist is tied with a *maṅgala-sūtra,* after the performance of *Pañcadevata-pūjā* as stipulated in the Vaikhānasa-Āgama. His bride Śrīdevī (Lakṣmī) and Bhūdevi are seated in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* and then the marriage functions start. Dr. N. *Rameshan* says; 'This was followed by a procession through the streets. On return the bridegroom was seated on a *wujal* or swing plank in front of the 'Tirumamani-manṭapam' and the 'Nachchimars' were seated one on a *'chataka-pakshi-vahanam'* and the other on the *'hamsa-vahanam'.* Garlands were exchanged between the bridegroom and the two brides in the same way as in the case of a Hindu marriage'. Of course, the marriage system, followed in Orissa, has been adopted in the wedding ceremony of Jagannātha as bridegroom with His single bride Lakṣmī near Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. Except some minor variations in the marriage festival of Purī and that of Siṃhācalam and Tirupati, the *Rathostava* in all those temples is not different from the *Kalyāṇotsava* or the marriage festival.

In Orissa a peculiar system is added in the marriage ceremony of Jagannātha with Lakṣmī during the *Ratha-yātrā.* After *Bāhuḍā-yātrā,* the images of Balabhadra and Subhadrā are taken into the temple without any obstruction. But in the case of Jagannātha, He is not allowed to enter into the temple, since the gate doors are suddenly closed by the maid servents of Lakṣmī. Then, the *daitās* (the tribal *sevakas*) of Śrī Jagannātha, standing outside with their Lord, helplessly and humbly request them to open the door, but receive negative reply from the maid servents (*devadāsīs*), who guard the gate on behalf of Lakṣmī. Then, a long dialogue continues between the *daitās* and the *devadāsīs* from either side of the closed door. Finally the door is opened whereafter the marriage function of Śrī Jagannātha is performed near the image of Garuḍa. This additional function of shutting and

opening of the door and exchange of words called '*vacanikā*', is presumably borrowed from a similar coquettish play of *savara* tribes during the marriage ceremony with the women of bride's party.

28. THE MAHĀPRASĀDA :-

From the inscriptions of the temples of Purī, we get no indication regarding *bhoga* and *pūjā* (offerings) which is an essential item of worship to the deities. Of course, the designation *'pūjāhārī'* (one who performs the *pūjā*) is mentioned in an inscription of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple (No.8). In another inscription of the Nṛsiṃha temple (No.13), the designation *'adhipāka-maṇiyā'* appears, which may be the title of a person who prepares the extra food for offering to the deities.

The word *'amaṇiyā'* is used for the *bhoga* materials of Śrī Puruṣottama.[205] But, what type of *bhoga* was offered in the 12th century A.D. to Śrī Puruṣottama in the temple was not known until an Oriya inscription of the temple of Pātāleśvara was discovered (No.19). The following passage of that epigraph may clear our doubt :

''श्रीकरणसुरुसेनापतिकु भूमि दत्त ।
श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्याङ्क 73 ए नैवेद्यप[दार्थ] चाउल कुञ्चा 1 हरणीपडा भूमि माहादेवपाढ़ीङ्क
गोचरे दधिघृतताम्बोलव्यञ्जनसमेते दत्तभूमि वाटि 3 [206]

This inscription was incised on the 15th *śrāhi*, *Āṣāḍha-śuddha* 5th day and Thursday. The 15th Śrāhi of Anaṅgabhīma-III is equal to the 73rd *aṅka* year of Śrī Puruṣottama, which also corresponds to 1223 A.D., i.e. seven years before the newly constucted temple of *Śrī-mandira* was consecrated. Hence, the donation of three *bāṭis* (about 60 acres) of land in Haraṇīpaḍā village to one Suru Senāpati for collection and supply of one *kuñcā* (3 seers) of rice including *dadhi* (curd), *ghṛta* (ghee), *tāmbūla* (betelnut) and *vyañjana* (vegetable curry) as recorded in the above inscription must belong to the above date. Most probably, these items were sufficient for the daily *bhoga* (offering) of the three deities, Balabhadra, Puruṣottama and Subhadrā, as long as they were worshipped in and renamed from the so-called Nṛsiṃha temple. The daily supply of one *kuñcā* (about three seers) of rice was probably a quintessence item of *bhoga* which was intended to be

distributed to *pūjāhārīs* or *paṇḍās* who performed the *bhoga*. That *Mahāprasāda* was enjoyed towards their wages for the said service. The items of *bhoga* dedicated were *dadhyannaṃ* (cooked rice, soaked with curd) and *ghṛtānnaṃ* (rice mixed with ghee) and *vyañjana* (curry) including *tambūla* (batelnut), which were proportionately sufficient for the daily *prasāda* of one *kuñca* of rice.

A few years after installation of the trinity in *Śrī-mandira*, some reforms might have taken place, when a few more items of curry, including sweets were added in the *bhoga*. From 1230 A.D., onwards the Gaṅga and Gajapati kings had supplemented more and more Bhoga items which culminated in course of time to fifty-six items (*Chapana-bhoga*). In the 15th century, more *bhoga* materials together with different fruits and spices were added as enumerated in the Nīlādri-mahodaya quoted below :

"अथ पूजावसानेऽपि नानारत्नविनिर्मिते ।।
पात्रे पवित्रे ताम्बूलं मञ्जुलं क्रमुकान्वितम् ।
लवङ्गजातिकायाश्च फलयुक्तं तथा नृप ।।
एलाफलसमायुक्तं कर्पूरक्षोदमिश्रितम् ।
दद्यात् प्रीतियुतः श्रीमान् कमलापतये तदा ।।"(207)

The fruits which had been allowed, were offered through the *'samarpaṇa'* process by only uttering His or Her *vīja-mantra*. No *'pañcopacāra-pūjā'* was done in case of *samarpaṇa* of fruits. But, the *pūjaka* should not mix salt in any such item or else the deities would not accept such fruits. If any *pūjaka* did so, then he would be turned to be a *'rākṣasa'* (demon).

After Anaṅgabhīma-III, the number of *bhoga* items was increased by his successors as stated above, up to the number fifty-six, popularly called *'Chapana-bhoga'*. Although we get no inscriptional evidence to give a list of the cooked items in *Śrī-mandira*, there are some inscriptions in the Viṣṇu temples of Kaliṅga at Simhācalaṃ and Śrī-kūrmaṃ, which mention about the *bhoga* items, endowed by imperial Gaṅga kings and their queens of Orissa. A few such records are enumerated below :

(1) In the 3rd *śrāhi* of Pratāpa Bhānudeva-III or 1353 A.D., a special *bhoga*

was introduced in the names of the king and his queen, Gaṅgādevi, called 'Bhānu-Gaṅgā-Bhogam'. It was endowed in the Lakṣmī-Narsiṃha temple of Siṃhācalaṃ. That *bhoga-prasāda* was assigned for distribution to persons as follows : Two pots of *prasāda* and two *appālu* to Śrī Rāma-Vaiṣṇava and his son Purai-Vaiṣṇava (the music and dancing experts).[208]

In *śakāvda* 1275 (1353 A.D.), the said king had endowed in the same temple a special *bhoga* in the names of his mother and father called 'Gaṅgā-Narasiṃha-Bhoga'. The Telugu passage in lines 4-6 of that inscription is quoted below :

''श्रीशकवरूषं वुलु 1275 गुनेंटि पुष्यपौर्णमियु गुरूवारमुनांडु श्रीवीरभानुदेवराजुतनकु अभीष्टार्थसिद्धिगा तम तंड्रि वीरनरसिंहदेवुंडुन्नु गंगामहादेविन्नै श्रीनरसिंहनाथुनिकि वेटिनं गंगानरसिंहभोगमु ।।''[209]

In that inscription the king assigned those ten pots of *prasādam* and seven closed pots (probably contained curry or liquid food) for distribution among five *Nāyakas*, or the heads of that temple who belonged to the group of Tirupati-*Vaiṣṇavas.*

Gaṅgādevi, Bhānudeva's mother had introduced a new *bhoga* in that temple in the *śaka* year 1275 A.D., through another inscription. That *bhoga* was called 'Gaṅgā-Narasiṃha-Bhoga'. She also appointed some *Brāhmaṇas* for daily recitation of *Purāṇa*. That inscription was recorded on a pious day of *ekādaśī* in the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*, which was known as *Devotthāna-ekādaśī.*[210] According to the old system of the temple administration, those who served in a temple were entitled to get some *bhoga-prasādaṃ* and also some amounts of money for their service. According to an inscription of the same temple, incised in *śakāvda* 1296 (1374 A.D.), a *Kaliṅga-parīkṣā* named Pātra-Śrī-Dharmadās-Jenā, gave 20 Padmanidhigaṇḍa-māḍa to the temple of Śrī Narasiṃha for playing *vīnā* by a dancing girl named Savararānī, who for her service, was paid a *kuñcā* of *prasādaṃ* and another Tāladārigā was given an *aḍḍā* (¼ *kuñcā*) *prasādaṃ*. Likewise, many dancing girls had received both money and *prasādaṃ*, such as *appālu* and *biḍiyālu*. Besides girls belonging to different *sampradāyas* (schools of music) were engaged in dancing and fanning services before the deity. From another Telugu inscription we get the following information :

"रात्रधूपावसरमंदु "सेमंति-खिरि" पूजासकाशे चन्द्रदास किलारिपुत्र आल्लालुकिल्लारिठारे रखिथिवा 60 टि गाइ सेथिसकाशे ताकु श्रीभण्डाररु 30 टि गंडमाड मुद्रा ओ दैनिक भात (कुडु) मध्ये दिआयिवा व्यवस्था। प्रतिदिन से क्षीर आणि देवाकु व्यवस्ता करायाइछि ॥"[211]

In the *śaka* year 1307 (1385 A.D.) a king, Ayyadevarāju, son of Annadevarāju, had granted 50 cows to supply milk for *'pāyasa-bhoga'* in the temple of Narasiṃhanātha at Siṃhācalam. In the *saka* year 1308 (1386 A.D.), one Arjunajīyan, *Bhoga-parīkṣā*, had granted materials on behalf of Uttamā-mahādevī, for daily *bhoga* together with *'vyajana-sevā'* (fanning-service) by two *sanīs* (*devadāsis*). The said Mahādevī also provided one *aḍḍā* (¼ *kuñcā*) of blackgram and a *māṇa* of ghee, ½ *palam* of juice of sugarcane, one *palam* of sugar (*khandamu*) for preparation of *'jauṭa-pulu'* (*puli*), a kind of sweet, which was also offered to the deities at *Śrī-mandir*a of Purī (See. No.23). The concerning passage in the inscription of the Siṃhācalam temple in lines 12-15 is quoted below :

"नित्यमुनु जउट पुउलु आटिका 1 मिनुमलु
अडेंडु नेइ मानडु चेरुकुद्रवं पलमु 1, खंडमु पलमु"[212]

In an inscription of Pātāleśvara temple of the *śaka* year 1236 (1314 A.D.) and in the 7th *tithi* of dark-fortnight of *Makara* (month), the king Anaṅgabhīmadeva-III, granted *'jauṭha-puli'* for *naivedya* to Śrī Puruṣottamadeva in *Śrī-mandira*. For that purpose, two *bāṭis* of land was granted under the supervision of one Viśu-pāṭhi. (See No. 23 of the inscription).

In *śaka*. 1310 (1388 A.D.) *Āṣāḍha-kṛṣna-pañcamī*, one Pattanayak Ekāmbara Sāsumalla had granted on *kuñcā* of *amṛtagoṭikā* (*pāyasa*) for the *bhoga* of Narasiṃhanātha. To prepare that *bhoga*, 28 *kuñcams* of milk, daily produced from 400 milching cows, was endowed.[213]

In the *śaka* year 1311 (1389 A.D.) one Tārā-mahādevī, mother of Narasiṃhadeva-IV, had granted a *bhoga* contained *maḍapali-talya, pāyasa-āṭikā, pānamu-kalaśa, papu* (dal)......., *biḍiyāmu, tiruto-māla (vana-māla)* etc including a perpetual lamp. In the same year (*śaka*. 1311), Nīlā Devī, another wife of Narasiṃhadeva-IV had granted another *bhoga* to Narasiṃhanātha, consisting of

madapali-talya, apālu-5, pāyasam-āṭikā, pānamu-kalaśa, papu-āṭikā, bidyamu, tiuatomāla (vanamāla or flower garland) etc. under the supervision of one Bhavāni-śrīpāda.[214]

One Rāyaguru Uttama Mahāpātra, who visited the temple at Siṃhācalam with royal family, had granted *manohari-talya* (plate-1), *apalu-5, pāyasam-āṭikā, pānamu-kalaśam, peruvu* (curd), *āṭikā, biḍyamu, tirutomāla, tirupaḍitāmu, tirumajyana-kuḍuva, divakolabu* along with perpetual lamp."[215] The said grant was made on the same date falling in *ekādaśī*. In another inscription of the same year (1311 *śaka*) one Virajādevi, a relative of Gajapati Narasiṃhadeva-IV, had introduced a *bhoga* consisting of *maḍapali-thāla* (plate-1) and many others.[216]

In the above inscription, the word '*kaḍuva*' (*kuḍuā*) is used for keeping the cooked rice in it. The *kuḍuā* is a clay-pot of different sizes. *madapali* is a kind of cooked rice which is still used in many temples of Andhra Pradesh. Six *kuñcās* of rice were supplied for *maḍapali* in the temple of Siṃhācalam. In *śaka*. 1316 (1394 A.D.), Uttamādevī the queen of Narasiṃhadeva-IV had granted in her own name a *bhoga* for Narasiṃhanātha, which *bhoga* contained 2 plates of *maḍapali, appalu*-10, *pāyāsa-āṭikā, pānna* (*paṇā*)-kalasa(pot)-2, *pappu* (dāl)-*āṭikā*-2, *bidiyā*-2, *pokalu* (?)-2, *candana-kalasi*-1 and two *padikās* of *karpūra* (camphor). For all these materials she paid 85 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* (gold coins) to the temple management.[217]

In *śaka*.1323 (1401 A.D.), Chiṅgu Mudusāli, the mother of Uttamā Mahādevī', had endowed 'Śrī-Mahādevi-Bhoga', containing *kuḍumulu*-2, *appalu-joḍalu*-10, for which she donated a *jala-kṣetra* (irregated land) of ten *puṭis* together with 132 coins.[218] In the Śrī-kūrma temple there is an Oriya inscription which was incised in the 33rd *śrāhi* of Vīra Śrī Narasiṃhadeva-IV, when one *Kaliṅga-parīkṣā*, Mahāpātra Gaṅgādhara Dāsa, was the Governor of Kaliṅga. He granted *bhoga* to remove his '*riṣṭa*' (bad luck), through *Bhoga-parīkṣā* and *Kaliṅga-Mājhi*, named Gaṇḍa Sāhasamalla, who appointed two *devadāsīs* for *cāmara-sevā* (fanning service) on behalf of the said Governor. Those *devadāsīs* were assigned to recieve

daily *bhāta* (cooked rice) - 1 pot and *masi-piṭhā* - 15 pieces of sweet (per month).[219]

In *śaka* 1328 (1406 A.D.), Pārvatīdevī, the Mahādevi of Vīra-Narasiṃhadeva and daughter of Viṣṇu Jenā, had issued a *bhoga*, consisted of *amudalu* (?) - 6, *appalu*-13, *kuḍumulu*-12, *pāppu-āṭikālu*-2, *pānālu* (sugar water) - 2, *peruvu-pattālu* (pots of curd) -2, *kakhārālu* (?) mixed with *guḍa* and other spices (*mahura*) *āṭikā*-1 etc.[220]

''अर्जुनभोग नामरे प्रत्यह 10 कुंचा गोक्षीररे छाचि मिशाइ क्षिरि प्रस्तुत करि भोगकरिवा कथा सीमांचलमन्दिररे 1300 शक (1378 खी.) र गोटिए अभिलेखरे अछि । राजा अर्जुनङ्कर ए दान ।''[221]

It means that in *śaka* 1300 (1378 A.D.) a *bhoga* called 'Arjuna-Bhoga', consisting of '*khiri*' (*pāyasa*) prepared by 10 *kuñcā* of cow-milk mixed with sugar, was to be offered for daily *naivedya*. In *śaka*. 1339 (1417 A.D.), a *bhoga* for Narasiṃhanātha was donated in order to keep the Gajapati Nissaṅka Bhānudeva IV under safety and the *bhoga* was called 'Nissaṅka-Bhānu-Bhoga' which consisted of *maḍapalli*-4 *talya* (plates), *kurala-pappu* (dāl) - 7 *āṭikās*, *ciḍitā-maṇu-āṭikās*-2, *valahi* (?)- *āṭikā*-2, *madu-killi* (?) *āṭikā*-1, *arsā*-2, *sadhu-pura-kākarā*-5, *ciḍakalu* - 5, *koraḍā-ciḍalu*-5, *punna-chiḍālu*-5, *jautabu*(r)*lu-āṭikālu*-2, *maṇḍālu*-8, *dai-baḍālu*-10, *panālu*-2, *sarabolā-cakra*-1, *bennā-cakra*-1, *punumbaṭa* (?) -1, *neḍiāla-pāciḍi-ciḍa*-1, *bāsa-paṇā*-1, *paiḍi*-2, *tamalapākula-biḍiyālu*-4 and *ṗomkālu*-1. For preparation of this *bhoga* 20 P. (?) of ghee were supplied in the temple every day.[222]

Again, under the same name, Nissaṅka-Bhanu-Bhoga, another *bhoga* was granted in the said temple in 1420 A.D. (8th Anka), by *Kaliṅga-Daṇḍapāta Parīkṣā*-Mahāpātra Bhuvanānanda Sandhivigrahī. That *bhoga* contained the following items; *la-ārsā*(?)-1, *ba-puli*-4, *koraḍa-baḍā*-4, *jeuṭha (gha)lu* (?) *laḍikā*-1, *panā-kalasi*-2, *panā-biḍiyā*-5, *gua-go*-5, *dhanda-mala*-1, *patri-phula*-2, *karpūramisa-candana-kalasi*-1, and *tiguni-dudha-kuñcā*-1; *Etakakhaṇḍa-mence* :

''एतक खण्डे मेञ्चे । एतक नित्यप्रसादकु मध्य ।'' कलिङ्गपरीक्षा श्रीकरण पटुवापजीडु (?) अम्भुमहासेनापति अधिकारानु गजपति प्रतापवीर निश्शंकभानुदेवराजुलकै आयुष्कामार्थ फलसिद्धिगानु श्रीसिंहाद्रिनाथुनिकि नित्यमुन्नु तिरुमज्जन अवसरमुवेनकनु अरगिंपनु ''निश्शंक भानुभोगं मु व्रयनकु कणिति-मंडक रेंडु उल्लु (रु) नु इद पोंगनु इ अभिखिलि वेहरण यइ (०) डि सहितमुगानु इंतपादुनु ई भोगानकु नित्यमुन्नु [प] दुमु पेटेनु इंदुलकै प्रत्येकमु रेंडु नी (वि) सलु [येत्तु] दीपालु 2, माललु [3], पत्रिफुलमालु (3), मडपल्लितल्यलु, 4, कूरलुपप्पु आटिकलु 7, चिडित[म]णु आटिकलु 2, वलहि आटिकलु 2, महुकिक्कि (?), आटिका 1, आर्सा 2, साधुपुरि काकरालु 5, चिडिकालु 5, कोरडाचिडीलु 5, पुन्नं चिड्डुलु 5, जउट वुरयालु आटिकालु 2, मंडालु 8, दइवडालु 10, पणालु 2, सरवलचक्र (सरुचकुलि ?) 1, वेत्र चक्र 1, पुनुउप्ट च[क्र] 1, नेडियाल पाचडि चिड 1, वासपणा, ओकटि 1, पइडि 2, तामलपाकुल विडियलु 4, पो[०] कलु 1 ["] इ भोगनकु - नेइ घ 20 तु 5 पेटगलारू....''(223)

The following items, introduced in the Viṣṇu temples of Kaliṅga are known from inscriptions :

1. Apālu-5, Appālu-joḍālu-10
2. Semanti-khiri
3. Jeuṭha-pulu-āṭikā (Jauṭha-Buryālu)
4. Maḍapali-tālyā (silver plate)
5. Manohari-talya (plate)
6. Pāyasam-āṭikā (pot)
7. Pāna-kalasi (jar)
8. Peruvu (dahi = curd)
9. Papu (dāli) āṭikā or Kurālu-papu
10. Bhāta in Kuḍuvā (clay-pot)
11. Pokalu-2
12. Kuḍumulu-2
13. Sasi-baḍā
14. Maṇḍā
15. Kari-ciḍālu-3
16. Karaceḍlu and Ciḍakālu or Ciḍulu; Ciḍita-manu; Koraḍi-ciḍilu; Pannam-ciḍulu.

17. Khaṇḍa-pānīya (sugar water)
18. Mudgam
19. Padasi (khi)ri
20. Āriṣā and Arṣu
21. Kakhāralu and Sadhu-pura-kākarā
22. Naḍiyāl-pāciḍi-ciḍa
23. Sarabola-cakra
24. Dai-baḍālu
25. Bennā-kākarā
26. Maḍu-kikki
27. Punu-impati-kākarā
28. Basa-pāna
29. Tamāla-pākula-Biḍiyālu
30. Balahi-āṭikālu
31. Kurāhi-pāpu-āṭikālu

A few more items of curry including sweets and cakes were added. From 1230 A.D. onwards the Gaṅga and the Gajapati kings had added more and more *bhoga* items which number swelled within two hundred years after the 16th century.

Manamohan Chakravarti attributes the date of Nīlāḍri-mahodaya to the 17th or 18th century. But, Sridhara Mahāpatra, while editing the said work states that it was written before 1435 A.D.[224] In that book we get an elaborate account of the *bhogas* of Śrī Jagannātha at Puri as quoted below :

ब्रह्मोवाच
"विष्णुयोग्यं च यद् द्रव्यं यन्मूलं यत्फलं नृप।
तद्वदामि महीनाथ निशामय समाहित: ॥३॥
अपक्वं च सदा भक्त्या दद्याच्च नारिकेलकम्।
रम्भाफलानि दिव्यानि परिपक्वानि विष्णवे ॥४॥

फलमाम्रं तथा दद्यात् पक्वं वाऽपक्वमेव वा ।
पनसादयमेवं च तथा तालफलं पुनः ॥५॥
दाडिम्बफलमादेयं नागरंगफलं तथा ।
वदरीफलकं चैव कर्कटीफलकं तथा ॥६॥
गुवाकफलमादेयं पयः पेटीचयं पुनः ।
दद्याद् भक्तियुतो राजन् जलजं शृङ्गिकाफलम् ॥७॥
द्राक्षाफलानि रम्याणि दद्यादिक्षुचयं पुनः ।
कन्दमूलानि रम्याणि कमलाफलमुत्तमम् ॥८॥
लाजानां नारिकेलानां दुग्धशर्करयोस्तथा ।
शर्करां च तथा दद्याद्दिव्यांश्च नृपसत्तम ॥९॥
भर्ज्जितं शर्करापक्वं चणकं चारु सोह्लकम् ।
नारिकेलाद्रकयुक्तं सिताचूर्णसमन्वितम् ॥१०॥
धौतमुद्गं च तद्दद्याद् दामोदरमुदे नृप ।
दद्यान्मुरारये भक्त्या तिलमोदकमुत्तमम् ॥११॥
एतानि फलमूलानि संस्कृत्य वीक्षणादिना ।
निवेदयामि मन्त्रेण पूजकोऽपि समर्पयेत् ॥१२॥
पञ्चाहुतं न कुर्याद् वै केवलं च समर्पणम् ।
आर्द्रकस्य च दध्नश्च मातुलुङ्गफलस्य च ॥१३॥
लवणस्य जलस्यापि न च कुर्यात् समर्पणम् ।
लोभाद्वा पूजकेनापि समर्प्य च नृपोत्तम ॥१४॥
तत्सर्वं राक्षसैर्ग्राह्यं नो गृह्णाति च तद्धरिः ।
तद्दोषतः पूजकोऽसौ राक्षसः स्यादसंशयः ॥१५॥(225)

For *naivedya*, a mixture of fruit-juice called '*amṛta-kuṇḍa*' is also to be placed in the same row of food, offered to the deities. It was described by Brahmā to Indradyumna :

"जलं द्विभागं विमलमेकभागं सितां पुनः ।
आमिक्षां दुग्धसारं च पक्वरम्भाफलानि च ॥१७॥
एतत् सर्वं त्वेकभागं सर्वमेकत्र भाजने ।
सम्यक् तन्मेलनं कृत्वा तत्र कर्पूरचूर्णकम् ॥१८॥

मरीचक्षोदनिचयं निक्षिप्य क्षितिपोत्तम ।
दद्यादमृतकुण्डं च पाककारैर्विनिर्मितम् ।।१९।।''(226)

Apart from the riped banana-juice, jack-fruit-juice is also prepared in similar procedure viz. two parts of pure water mixed with one part of milk, mixed with juice of riped banana or jack-fruit to make a component liquid, in which a little fragrance of camphor powder is poured by the '*pākakāra*' (the cook) and none else. The following fruits are to be offered to Viṣṇu through the '*samarpaṇa*' system:

1. Sṛṅgikā - A water born seed called Siṅgaḍā
2. Guvāka-Arcanut
3. Kamalā - Orange
4. Drakṣā - Grape
5. Āmba- Mango
6. Kandamūla - Sweet-potato
7. Nārikela-Cocoanut
8. Ikṣu-Sugarcane
9. Caṇaka- Chick-pea
10. Lājā- Fried-rice
11. Mudga- Green-gram
12. Tila-modaka - Sesamum and sugar mixed cake
13. Panasa - Jack fruit

No salt should be added in any food if prepared for Viṣṇu. He who does so, would be a sinister like the *asuras* (demon). In a similar method the riped jack-fruit juice or riped sweet mango-juice may be prepared for '*naivedya*' of Lord Jagannātha. Regarding the supreme sanctity of *Mahāprasāda* of Śrī Jagannātha, the following verses are mentioned in the Nīlādri-mahodaya :

''श्रीविष्णोर्यच्च.नैवेद्यं दृष्ट्वा पापात् प्रमुच्यते ।
येऽपि खादन्ति पश्यन्ति स्पृशन्ति पापज्ञानतः ।।१।।

मुच्यन्ते ते पितृदिने द्विजेभ्यो यदि दापयेत् ।
नरकस्थाश्च पितरो मुच्यन्ते तत्क्षणान्नृप ।।२।।
यदि श्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत गयाश्राद्धशतं समम् ।
एकवारं पुण्यतमं बहुवारमनन्तकम् ।।३।।
यस्मिंश्च नियमो नास्ति प्राप्तमात्रेण भक्षयेत् ।
स्पर्शास्पर्शादि यद्दोषं न गृह्णात्यत्र हे नृप ।।४।।
म्लेच्छादिभिः स्पर्शमन्नं गङ्गातोयं यथैव तत् ।(227)

The *Mahāprasāda* of *Śrīdhāma* is higly regarded by the Hindus who take it as sacred as the god Himself. No caste distinction is observed while eating *Mahāprasāda.* It has been expressed in some scriptures that *Mahāprasāda* is eatable even it is droped from the mouth of a dog. The Skanda Purāṇa (Utkala-khaṇḍa) mentions:

''समस्तजगदाद्या श्रीः सृष्टिस्थितिविनाशकृत् ।
वैष्णवीशक्तिरतुला विष्णुदेहार्धधारिणी ।।
शुद्धोपमा पचत्यन्नं भुङ्क्ते नारायणः प्रभुः ।
तदुच्छिष्टोपभोगो हि सर्वाघक्षयकारकः ।।''(228)

x x x

''कुक्कुरस्य मुखाद् भ्रष्टं कदन्नं पतति यदि ।
ब्राह्मणेनापि भोक्तव्यं सर्वपापापनोदनम् ।।''(229)

The holy *Mahāprasāda* is profusely used by the Hindus of Orissa, irrespective of caste and creed, in all of their social performances. Not only in Orissa, but also throughout India, every Hindu accepts the *Mahāprasāda* of Śrī Jagannātha of Purī only as the most pious element.

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46. Most probably she (the queen of Jayavarman) was the daughter of Puṣpabhṛti king of Kanauja. About 700 years after, Visvanātha-Kavirāja wrote a drama entitled 'Prabhāvati Pariṇaya', which has not yet been discovered.
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49. See Palaeographical chart comparing the scripts of Funnan Rock inscription and the copper plate inscription of Orissa.
50. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, P. 282.
51. I.O., Vol-II, Pp. 58-263.
52. H.I.L., Vol. II, P. 236 n.4; History and Culture of Indian people, Vol. IV P. 64.
53. E.I., Vol XXVI, Pp. 165-171; I.O., Vol. II,Pp. 280-286.
54. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXIII, (1904), Pp. 280-286.

55. O.H.R.J., Vol. XII (1964), No. 2, Pp. 100-108.
56. Oḍiśāra Itihāsa., Vol. I, : by. Dr. S.N. Rajaguru, Pp. 421-22.
57. S.I.I., Vol-X., No. 691; I.O., Vol.III., Pt.I., Pp.198.
58. Bhagavadgītā Ch. 11 V. 13.
59. H.I.L., by : M. Winternitz., Vol -II, Pp. 549-50.
60. Padma Purāṇa., (Pātālakhaṇḍa)., Ch. 78, Vv. 16-27.
61. Śātātapa says : ''अप्सु देवा मनुष्याणां दिवि देवा मनषिणाम्।
काष्ठलोष्ठषु मूर्खाणां युक्तस्यात्मनि देवता ॥''

P.V. Kane writes that "the gods of ordinary men are in water, those of the knowing are in heaven, of the ignorent and of those having small intelligence are in wood and clay (i.e. image)" His. Dhr., Vol-II, Pt. ii, P. 715.
62. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXIII., (1904), Pp. 280-286.
63. Matsya Purāṇa., Ch. 258., Vv. 8 - 10.
64. Agni Purāṇa., Ch. 44, V. 53.
65. Padma Purāṇa., Pātālakhaṇḍa., Ch. 78., Vv. 16-27.
66. Bṛhat Saṃhitā., Vol. II, Ch. 57, Vv. 34-35.
67. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Vol. III., Ch. 44.
68. Caturvarga Cintāmani., By : Hemādri. Vol. II., Pt. I, Pp. 76-222.
69. E.I., Vol. XXVI, Pp. 276-279 ff.
70. Advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa - C.J.R.T.O., (1978), P.15.
71. O.H.R.J., Vol. XII, No. 3, (1964), Pp. 113-122.
72. In his Soro-plate, the date is mentioned as 'Samvat 260'. So, we doubt if his ruling period is 485 or 580 A.D.
73. E.I., Vol. XXIII, Pp. 197-203; I.O., Vol.I:, Pt. II, Pp. 117-119.
74. Op. Cit., P.8.
75. Matsya Purāṇa., Ch. 258, Vv. 8-9.
76. Ibid., Ch. 258., V-10.
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78. Sk.P.U.K. Ch.2 Vv. 25-26
79. Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā
80. N.M., Ch. 89 - v.19
81. Sk.P.U.K., Ch.19. Vv- 45-46.

82. N.M., Ch. 4 Vv-12-13
83. Bṛhat saṃhitā, Ch - 58 V. 37
84. Ibid - Ch - 58. V. 38
85. Ibid - Ch - 58. V. 34
86. Quoted from Śilpa-padhikaram., Book. XI, Lf. 41-51., By : Dr. N. Rameshan, in the Tirumal Temple. P. 53.
87. Telugu English Dictionary, by : P. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa., Ed. 1900, P. 499 (Published at Port Town, Madras).
88. Bṛhat-saṃhitā., Ch. 58, V. 36.
89. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa., Vol. III, Ch. 47, Vv. 11-19.
90. N.M., Ch. 87, Vv. 10-11
91. Ibid., Ch. 89, V. 19.
92. Brahma Purāṇa., Ch. 26., V.I.
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96. J.A.S.B., Vol.I.
97. E.I., Vol. XXIII., P. 18.
98. Notice of Sanksrit Manuscripts., Ed. 1880, Vol. VI, Pt. II, P. 262.
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101. Matsya Purāṇa., Ch. 258, V.10.
102. N.M., Ch. 46, Vv.2-4.
103. The Centre that holds Archetype, Symbolism and Myth in the cult of Jagannātha, vide S.C.J. (1991). P. 18,
104. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, Pp. 292-306.
105. Mahābhārata., Vana Parva, Ch. 39. V. 4
106. E.I., Vol. XII., P. 323; I.V.I., Vol-II, P. 79.
107. Jñānasiddhi, Ch. 1. V. 1.
108. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, (1966), Pp. 167-177.
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110. Iconography of Tārā : by. K.K. Dasgupta in 'Śakti cult and Tārā', Calcutta University (1965) Ed. D.C. Sircar P. 115.

111. Tārā Tantra

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113. Formation of Jagannatha Triad - C.J.R.T.O., Pp. 177-78

114. The Śākta Pīthas : by D.C. Sircar P. 12. Tantra Cūḍāmani also supports this view.

115. H.I.L. Vol. III, Pt. ii, P. 531

116. J.A.S.B. Vol LXVII (1898) Pt. 1-Pp 317-27; E.I. Vol, XXIX-Pp 121-133; I.O. Vol. V - Pt. 1 Pp 51-63.

117. E.I. Vol-VI, P 200; J.A.S.B., Vol-VI P. 89 and J.A.S.B.- Vol. LXVI, Pt. 1-P-11 , I.O., Vol - III, Pt. ii - Pp 332-37.

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119. H.I.L. Vol. III, Pt. ii-P. 535

120. Nirvāṇa Tantra

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124. H.I.L. Vol. III, Pt.-i, P. 271.

125. Formation of Jagannath Triad - C.J.R.T.O. P. 196

126. H.I.L. Vol. III, Pt.-i- P. 266 n.5 (Also see P.20,P.23 n.1)

127. Veṇīsaṃhāra Act. I, V. 2

128. I.V.I. Vol. I. Int. P. XLV.

129. Veṇīsaṃhāra Act. VI, V. 46

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APPENDIX - 1

PROPERTY OF JAGANNATH TEMPLE, PURI.

The property of Lord Jagannātha cannot be estimated at present although the records (Mādalā-Pāñji) renders a list of landed property endowed in the name of Śrī-Jagannātha. The Telugu version of the record called 'Jagannātha Sthala-Vṛttantām' gives a detailed list of villages in which lands with their extent were granted by Keśarī and Gajapati kings of Orissa :

GRANTS BY KEŚARĪ KINGS

Sl. No.	Name of *Paragana*	Village (Extent)	*bāṭi*	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*
1.	Rahanga ...	Siraikan grama	75	10	
2.	Rahanga ...	Toramayi grama	292	10	
3.	Rahanga ...	Davana or Mahakera grama	1970	0	
4.	Polidara ..	Bhaktiyana	112	12	
5.	do ..	Balikhandi	104	11	
6.	Chovinu (?) . (Chavisi Paragana)	Sankalapura	540	9	
7.	do ..	Gorupala	256	9	
8.	Lembai ..	Bhairavi	120	13	12
9.	do ..	Lembai	170	12	15
10.	do ..	do..	290	26	36

GRANTS OF KĀMARṆAVA DEVA

11.	Lembai ..	Gobalipada Domupada ...	257	5	22

GRANTS OF MADANAMAHĀDEVA

1000 (In total from the following villages)

12.	Lembai ..	Patna(yak) pur	15	0
		Siddhapada	41	0

Sl. No.	Name of *Paragana*	Village (Extent)	*bāṭi*	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*
		Ballikaradi	50	0	
		Toravai	66	0	
		Sajanapuru	11	10	
		Balikana	45	0	
		Bilasapuru	42	12	
		Pankhila	42	0	
		Gaudakara	36	0	
		Gauradevipuru	17	0	
		Bankilo	23	15	
13.		Vasantapura	14	0	
14.		Bamanapura	30	6	
			Total - 1, 000		

GRANTS OF RĀJARĀJADEVA

Sl. No.	Name of *Paragana*	Village (Extent)	*bāṭi*	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*
15.	Lembai	Alabadi	210	16	0
16.	do.	Dolakana	157	4	6
17.	do.	Kasunapura	110	5	7
18.	do.	Belamaga	57	2	9
19.	do.	Mangala-amcha	51	16	0
		Total -	615	308	35
Apart from this, the other lands.			616	11	13

GRANTS OF MAHĀRĀJA PURUṢOTTAMADEVA

Sl. No.	Name of *Paragana*	Village (Extent)	*bāṭi*	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*
20.	Badaibal (?)	Pragana ...			
		Purva Tarubai	16	14	1
21.	do.	Paschima Tarubai	16	5	0
22.	do.	Sahajapura	77	15	20
23.	do.	Satapania	17	17	17
24.	do.	Singharapura	16	11	20
25.	do.	Mananaruva	11	7	15

Sl. No.	Name of *Paragana*	Village (Extent)	*bāṭi*	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*
26.	do.	Madhunapuru	19	7	15
27.	do.	Ayalayu	7	7	15
28.	do.	Golaka riya	12	10	11
29.	do.	Brahmana Alango	7	0	20
30.	do.	Masivopur	74	1	21

Apart from this, the other lands granted :

	277	0	0
and	5324	5	13
Total Lands Granted by (i) Keśarī kings	3014	1	0
(ii) Gaṅgavaṃśa kings	2380	4	13
Total	5394	5	13

A king named Anaṅgabhīma who repaired the broken parts of temples in Puri, had made a survey of the lands after organising the landed property endowed in the names of gods and *Brāhmaṇas* (*devadāya* and *brahmadāya*) for permanent restoration. He also made settlement of the property granted to the *sevakas* (temple servents) in *Śrī-Kṣetra* for their sustenance. The total extent of lands in Lembai Pragana is 3419 *bāṭi,* 4 *māṇa* and 12 *guṇṭha.* Apart from this, he also granted Rushahari village,

	137	3	7 wet
and	12	0	0 dry.
Total	149	3	7

LEMBAI PARGANA

The total extent of lands in Lembai Paraganā is 3419 *bāṭi*, 4 *māṇa* and 12 *guṇṭha*, as shown below :

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
13	9	22	Brahmanabai Village.
27	16	6	Talapada Village.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
16	7	3	Brahmana Ankulu.
16	9	20	Savaramkui.
20	14	23	Vinayaka-pada.
14	7	13	Kiringdoriya.
25	3	5	Sangrama Kiraya.
65	6	14	Mavu(hu)ri grama.
7	7	10	Kothakochya grama.
4	1	12	Longhuri.
31	1	0	Barimola.
70	19	0	Kacchipuru.
39	9	19	Khandiyapuru.
48	15	21	Jayapuru.
54	9	9	Narapula.
47	5	14	Ratnapuru.
45	2	6	Nuapada.
47	5	4	Velugrama.
27	17	7	Kotapada.
62	11	4	Raisalo.
12	7	10	Kurunguva.
14	10	0	Vuhamvudasta.
52	7	0	Navasadhepa.
13	15	23	Ganjam.
63	5	5	Lavapuru.
15	7	0	Singipuru.
36	5	4	Gojupuru.
33	2	9	Su(chu) danapuru.
15	7	7	Pudhulo.
36	5	4	Gojupuru.
33	2	9	Surangapuru.
15	7	7	Puthulo.
4	9	9	Trighariya-grama.
12	12	2	Prabhakara-nuruva.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
50	10	20	Padanunu grama.
12	0	0	Padmapuru.
177	14	0	Panidolei.
169	0	0	Kucchuviti.
27	2	16	Baradori.
15	0		Bopugrama.
49	16	0	Kumurali.
32	6	0	Podhabengala.
55	11	0	Vasantapuru.
35	2	0	Meai grama.
45	11	20	Bidariphala.
22	3	0	Chassapada.
14	3	22	Dulanada.
12	3	22	Kothothikai.
73	4	21	Raigola grama.
12	0	0	Telanavindha.
74	5	0	Kumbhara grama.
70	0	0	Tottapada.
3	15	0	Sadakaliya.
10	10	0	Karadiya.
31	11	0	Jajipuru.
4	11	0	Jayapada.
4	7	10	Dimuna.
12	10	0	Gaudapada.
5	0	0	Tirana-kataka.
59	4	5	Elayi grama.
18	2	7	Jagadalapuru.
31	0	0	Ankusopada.
16	8	5	Taradapada.
2	0	0	Karnavirapada.
73	3	5	Anttepuru.
5	0	2	Bhadarangala grama.

Apart from these villages, there are in total 3419 *bāṭi*, 4 *māṇa* and 12 *guṇṭha* land extra.

RAMANGA PARAGANA :

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
71	10	0	Kottho gara grama.
17	19	0	Kurvi grama.
69	0	0	Gadatvaro grama.
4	0	0	Dulevara grama.
129	12	0	Ankola grama (for Sudara and Mahasuara).
73	10	0	Rondo grama.
34	0	0	Ankuva grama.
20	10	0	Rautakera grama.
17	0	0	Rautrapalli.
6	8	0	Bimbabandikara grama.
12	0	0	Kheyikara grama.
13	0	0	Kirapada grama.
6	0	0	Ankurapuru.
2	2	0	Kesa grama.
78	0	0	Ariya grama.
15	16	0	Alosa grama.
50	16	0	Alonta grama.
12	0	0	Basulabarka grama.
26	6	0	Dulalapuru.
6	0	0	Nuniapada.
16	0	0	Gopalabarahapura.
21.	0	0	Balipada.

Total - 690, *bāṭi*, 4 *māṇa* and 0 *guṇṭha*.

KOTHA-RAHANGA PARAGANA :-

16	6	0	Purusara.
18	5	0	Sripura.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
8	10	0	Mahabalapada.
15	0	0	Kasarada.
4	0	0	Gonalo Brahmapuṛu.
5	0	0	Brarapatoi.
6	0	0	Samanurya.
10	0	0	Tovuja.
2	10	0	Samaharapuru.
18	0	0	Vonaso.
14	0	0	Kalapada-bataranapuru.
7	0	0	Trikshanapuru.
7	0	0	Maliso.

Total - 145 *bāṭi*, 11 *māṇa* and 0 *guṇṭha*.

PUDAL PARAGANA.

13	15	0	Khandabati
27	3	0	Volandi.
55	7	0	Vonaripuru.
4	0	0	Vailo Brahmapuru.
3	0	0	Talipada.
20	8	0	Bhaliso.
72	2	0	Barolo.
17	8	0	Sudhokhanda.
14	8	0	Pasudari.
18	14	0	Torasa.
35	3	0	Alasiya.
93	15	0	Jamarasva.
25	18	0	Suluga.
2	0	0	Parinapuru.
4	4	0	Supayuri.
30	15	0	Alasango.
3	3	0	Sulapura.
Total-413	5	0	In this, there may be some difference in calculation.

PASCHAMA-DOI PARAGANA :

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
25	1	16	Anantapuru.
41	0	0	Banapuru.
8	0	0	Sahadapada.
Total-74	1	16	

POLABARA-PARAGANĀ :

57	0	0	Asango grama.
9	4	0	Bonttala.
7	9	0	Savuripuru.
25	0	0	Kontasariya.
3	0	0	Todeigopuru.
4	0	0	Boyeri
27	0	0	Vodisipada.
58	7	0	Baguha.
98	14	0	Bingura.
24	0	0	Pudyikhanda.
48	11	0	Royyapada.
4	0	0	Badalapada.
22	2	0	Sahapuru.
11	0	0	Kattola.
14	0	0	Bhubam.
43	11	0	Sunedi.
7	19	0	Santasa.
69	17	0	Gaindola.
11	0	0	Beguri.
7	13	0	Ittihaba.
Total-552	18	0	

There is some difference in this calculation.

SAMANGA-PARAGANA :

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
25	7	5	Samgramapuru.
65	6	14	Mauda grama.
7	7	10	Kathakuṇda.
4	1	12	Tomghorupadi.
31	1	7	Barisala.
7	17	7	Kattupuru.
37	7	17	Khandiyapari.
48	15	21	Jayapuru.
54	7	7	Narayanapura.
47	8	4	Ratnapura.
48	2	6	Nuapada.
47	8	4	Vaduvali.
27	17	7	Katapada.
10	5	8	Vaisanga.
62	11	4	Baiyapada.
12	7	10	Kumingo.
14	10	8	Vuva-Ananta.
52	7	8	Nahasadhepa.
13	18	18	Ganjji grama.
63	5	5	Lavupura.
18	7	5	Singharapura.
64	5	4	Gajapura.
33	2	9	Surangapura.
15	7	7	Vudhala.
4	6	8	Tigiliya.
12	12	2	Prabhakarapura.
50	10	20	Vidasingi (?)
12	8	8	Vadanapura.
177	14	8	Vanidala.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
169	8	8	Kuchapetta.
27	2	16	Jiraduri.
15	8	8	Choppuva.
45	16	8	Gumurala.
32	6	8	Padavonga.
55	11	8	Vasantapura.
38	2	8	Duvai.
48	11	20	Badarevu.
22	3	8	Divanuva.
14	3	22	Koratikai.
73	4	21	Vaigala.
12	8	8	Bonagrama.
74	5	0	Kumbhuru.
31	11	0	Bajapuru.
4	11	0	Diyapada.
40	10	10	Jamuna.
12	10	8	Garapada.
5	8	8	Tarinapada.
59	4	5	Yeranga.
18	2	7	Jagadalapuru.
31	0	0	Amkalu.
2	8	8	Karavirapada.
33	3	5	Kuripi.
16	8	5	Godatturi.
4	8	8	Dullevarapura.
124	12	8	Amkalu.
73	10	0	Runda.
34	0	0	Amkuba.
20	10	0	Ravutupada.
17	8	8	Ravatamalli.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
6	8	8	Bimbabamdi.
12	8	8	Bhayyakari.
13	8	8	Karapada.
6	8	8	Ankurapura.
2	2	8	Kesava grama.
678	8	8	Ariya grama.
	(766 *bāṭi* is ordinary lands and 2 *bāṭi* covers the channels (*nala*) or drains.)		
15	16	0	Alasa grama.
50	16	0	Alontta grama.
12	-	-	consisting boundary.
26	6	-	Dulalapu (?) the boundary mentioned under the lands.
6	-	-	Iniyapoda.
19	-	-	Gopalavu.
21	-	-	Ballipada.
Total-690	4	0	

KATHORAVAMGA-PARAGANA :

16	6	0	Purusha(pu)ra grama.
18	5	0	Vodopodu grama (Vodapadu).
8	10	0	Mavalipada.
15	-	-	Kosoruda.
4	-	-	Golubamham (?)
5	-	-	Barapada.
62	-	-	Samahapuru.
10	-	-	Jagannathapuru.
2	10	-	Samuhara(i)puru.
18	-	-	Anasa grama.
14	-	-	Talapada.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
7	-	-	Tikshanapuru.
7	-	-	Gopapada.
7	-	-	Maliso (Duliso).
Total-145	11	0	

PUGURAI PARAGANA :

13	15	0	Khando grama.
27	15	0	Ulonda grama.
4	0	0	Tayula Brahmapura.
55	7	0	Usaripura.
3	0	0	Talapada Brahmapura.
20	8	0	Bhavishya grama.
22	2	0	Bimbapuru.
17	18	0	Sudho-khandu.
14	8	0	Polanka grama.
18	14	0	Alasa.
35	3	9	Alakya.
93	15	0	Jamarasva grama.
25	18	0	Solapuru.
2	0	0	Parnavu.
4	4	0	Parsodapuru.
30	15	0	Seshapuru grama.
Total-413	5	0	

PASCHIMADOI PARAGANA :

25	1	10	Anantapuru.
41	0	0	Jiripuru.
8	0	0	Mohadapuru.
Total -74	1	16	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
57	-	-	Aluga grama.
9	4	-	Banki grama.
7	9	-	Soropura grama.
25	-	-	Kadara grama.
3	-	-	Todoipuru.
27	-	-	Vodisaripada.
58	7	-	Anghu.
98	14	-	Bhimapura.
24	-	-	Deidikhanda.
48	11	-	Toijariga (m).
1	-	-	Dolopada.
4	-	-	Ahiya.
1	-	-	Marapura.
22	2	-	Lohoripura.
11	-	-	Pattulo.
14	-	-	Bhuvam grama.
43	11	-	Sunnedi grama.
7	19	-	Sontósho grama.
69	19	-	Goindulo.
11	-	-	Bengori grama.
7	13	-	Intiheba grama.
Total-552	18	0	

SUVANGO PARAGANA :

5	-	-	Su(Tu)lasi-Brahmapura.
8	18	-	Hanito grama.
2	15	-	Morisai grama.
1	10	-	Gopura grama.
5	10	-	Sodiyoha grama.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
6	-	-	Sohariya grama.
5	-	-	Darikero grama.
13	12	-	Baradi grama.
40	-	-	Gorailundapura.
5	-	-	Vuttu grama.
5	-	-	Vondiya grama.
2	-	-	Sukkulo grama.
1	-	-	Mukunda grama.
3	-	-	Jorima grama.
2	-	-	Jalati grama.
2	-	-	Kacchinakonda.
2	-	-	Kondesu grama.
5	-	-	Narayana grama.
13	12	-	Harani grama.
4	-	-	Voyasi grama.
5	-	-	Kevutunga grama.
7	10	-	Vatulo grama.
1	10	-	Seshapura.
6	-	-	Machapoda grama.
3	-	-	Sengo grama.
19	-	-	Bodokullolu grama.
18	-	-	Kopperapuru.
23	-	-	Khudoru grama.
Total-840	6	-	

ANTARUDRA PARAGANA :

9	10	-	Sekharapuru.
17	-	-	Potiso grama.
Total-26	10	0	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village

DOMARAKHANDO PARAGANA :

41	8	-	Bellapuru grama.
2	-	-	Alanguva grama.
Total-43	8	-	

SVANGO PRAGANA :

10	-	-	Bhidhiyi grama.
12	-	-	Singhapuru.
15	-	-	Dhobahiri.
15	-	-	Icchapada.
1	10	-	Koradi.
3	-	-	Haripada.
17	-	-	Kuntala bai.
73	-	-	?
43	-	-	Imiravasni Domarakhandu.
Total-116	18	-	

KUVARABAḌI PARAGANA :

20	-	-	Alaguva grama
4	-	-	Kalapada.
14	13	-	Jabapuru.
Total-38	13	-	

KUNDAPADA PRAGANNA :

10	-	-	Rathipuru.
5	-	-	Bakhari grama.
18	10	-	Mathurapuru.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
40	10	-	Harananara.
Total-63	10	-	

IVADANDAPARU PARAGANA :

20	-	-	Bhallo grama.
4	-	-	Phenapada.
Total-24	-	-	
Grand Total-123	16	-	Including the grant made by
148	16	-	Jagannath Jena in Haripura.

ALANGO PARAGANA :

4	-	-	Sellapura.
4	-	-	Mangalapada.
Total-8	-	-	

SOHIPURU PARAGANA :

4	-	-	Bimbadharapuru.
2	-	-	Bidogo.
Total-6	-	-	

HAM (BAN)GADESAM BASNI PARAGANA (included in Kothadesa :)

43	13	-	Panikayya grama.
36	15	-	Gopala grama.
26	-	-	Indoli.
4	-	-	Bodoli grama.
4	-	-	Alisi grama.
40	-	-	Royitosaba grama.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
26	-	-	Kundiya grama.
7	-	1	Korantipuru.
3	-	-	Chintha-binda.
3	6	-	Kidarapada.
Total-208	15	0	

From Kothadeśa other materials are collected such as : (1) 365 (?) including *pāna* (*taṃbūla*), *biḍiyā* (and) to pay 6721 in *Śravaṇa Paurṇamī*, *Puṣya Paurṇamī* etc. festivals (*jātarā*) to be paid (in money) six thousand seven hundred and twenty one *kāhāṇa* of *kauḍi* (*gubalu*).

SIRATI PARAGANA TALUKA :

12	-	-	Dandekara brahmapura.
2	-	-	Jhosiya grama.
Total-14	-	-	

ARISI PARANGANA :

1	-	-	Kobori grama.
16	-	-	Sudharipuru.
1	-	-	Sannapoda.
7	-	-	Sudoru (a) pada.
1	-	-	Podakara.
4	-	-	Brahmapuru.
Total-30	-	-	

GANGA PARAGANA :

10	-	-	Pugadayi grama.
4	-	-	Gollapada grama.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
12	-	-	Kirinda grama.
8	-	-	Pantara grama.
30	-	-	Talasingu grama.
8	-	-	Kulintara.
1	-	-	Hattiyapoda.
Total-83	-	-	

KENDELA PRAGANA :

16	-	-	Chillodu grama.
3	-	-	Kurolava (Kurala).
2	-	-	Chandopada.
4	-	-	Supalau.
2	-	-	Jaru.
1	-	-	Vona.
6	-	-	Magaram.
1	-	-	Harikula.
1	-	-	Sahasa.
6	-	-	Magaram.
4	-	-	Harikula.
6	-	-	Godapoda.
4	-	-	Avaramukha.
6	-	-	Aṃapuru.
4	-	-	Khudurabandha.
1	-	-	Godapoda.
2	-	-	Mugalabana.
12	-	-	Ranisuva.
4	-	-	Ragasayi.
2	-	-	Bhatranga.
Total-72	-	-	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village

DODANDAPATA PARAGANA :

56	-	-	Kattiyagoti grama.
12	-	-	Jayapuru.
15	-	-	Kalosi.
7	-	-	Ayatopuru.
74	17	-	Guloparsalkapura.
11	-	-	Bhojariyajatapura.
15	4	-	Polanko grama.
9	-	-	Molasa grama.
15	-	-	Nuvachandanajagalya Papura.
63	15	-	Vonayi grama.
84	-	-	Botolo.
45	10	-	Bedoro.
45	1	-	Boyodi grama.
26	1	-	Adharjyo grama.
28	-	-	Devasamuva grama.
7	10	-	bosorajara grama.
6	-	-	sankalpapuru.
10	10	-	Solona grama.
24	-	-	Salipoda.
8	-	-	Buddasayi.
2	-	-	Brahmagiri.
8	-	-	Pudagora.
8	-	-	Mahadeva.
8	-	-	Kanthayipada.
8	-	-	Sitalapada.
8	-	-	Sasanagoi.
8	-	-	Raniyapada.
8	-	-	Kankolu.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
BAVUNAKUDDẠ PARAGANA :			
22	-	-	Ghanapatha grama.
22	-	-	Gaudapada (ra) grama.
8	-	-	Biduravonkka grama.
19	10	-	Bihanga grama.
6	2	-	Badapura grama.
2	-	-	Mukundapaliya.
19	-	-	Kelikavadi grama.
22	-	-	Alandapadi (ra) grama.
Total-827	10	-	
ASIKA DANDAPATA-PARAGANA-TALUKA.			
25	-	-	Balurtala grama.
29	-	-	Kulakaneka grama.
40	-	-	Kanasira grama.
15	-	-	Sorada grama.
12	-	-	Pimpudiyabara grama.
12	-	-	Bagapadu grama.
12	-	-	Jarumulu grama.
Total-136	-	-	
SERAGADA DANDAPATI-PARAGANA :			
Total-180	0	0	

The names of the villages of the Paraganā which have been granted in the name of Jagannātha Svāmī have been mentioned in the record.

PUGA(RVA)-DANDAPATA PRAGANA-TALUKA

39	-	-	Delangu(a) grama.
30	-	-	Kalayi grama.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
13	-	-	Alamda grama.
4	-	-	Salapada grama.
4	-	-	Lavanapada grama.
4	-	-	Yulumulu grama.
4	-	-	Gangapadu.
1	10	-	Taralasi.
8	-	-	Ksha(e) triyapadu.
Total-117	10	-	

PASCHIMADIGA-PARAGANA-TALUKA.

13	-	-	Kaluta.
5	-	-	Urumva grama.
33	-	-	(?)

Some portions are missing.

UDAYAKHANDA PARAGANA (UDYANAKHANDA).

40	-	-	Brahmapura.
25	-	-	Gada Brahmapura.
6	-	-	Kodanda Gopinathapura.
5	-	-	Chandi Brahmapura.
2	10	-	Beladapura.
6	-	-	Kedapa grama.
10	-	-	Mangalapura.
10	-	-	Navudipuru.
2	-	-	Bijayanarasinga(pura).
3	10	-	Kotha Brahmapura.
Total-113	-	-	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
BOMBYANA-PARAGANA :			
15	-	-	Purilo Brahmapura.
8	-	-	Telukula Brahmapura.
3	-	-	Nandijumuni grama.
5	-	-	Jagannathapura.
60	-	-	Kundala-grama.
Total-28	-	-	?
SALI-PARAGANA :			
2	-	-	Puruna-Brahmapura.
15	-	-	Mungalapura.
Total-17	-	-	
BENAHARI PARAGANA :			
30	-	-	Yenisepura.
60	-	-	Bakasepuram.
10	-	-	Kada grama.
6	-	-	Palanapundi grama.
2	-	-	Pari purti (?)
15	-	-	Mrudanga-grama.
Total-57	-	-	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
BARAPADIKHANDA PARAGANA :			
4	-	-	Madhya Brahmapura.
1	1	-	Gopinathapura.
Total-5	1	-	
YOTO PARAGANA :			
12	17	-	Madhya Brahmapura.
1	12	-	Purushottamapura.
Total-14	9	-	
KUNDA PARAGANA :			
1	12	-	Kunta-Purushottamapur
4	14	-	Bada Gopinathapura.
1	-	-	Bada Jagannathpur.
2	8	-	Lakshminarayanapura.
5	12	-	Alasi grama.
4	2	-	Burahapura.
Total-19	8	-	
JAYAPURA PARAGANA :			
4	8	-	Macchapuru.
6	8	-	Salapuru.
6	8	-	Kundipuru.
Total-16	24	-	

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village

KUNDIRIYA PARAGANA :

4	-	-	Nilakanthapura.
1	12	-	Purushottamapura.
7	4	-	Udayapura.
4	-	-	Narasingapura.
3	4	-	Anantapura.
1	12	-	Purnavidu.
1	12	-	Pathi-Nilakanthapura.
Total-33	-	-	

SASARIPARA GRAMA :

4	-	-	Dariyapuru.
5	-	-	Virapuru.
Total-9	-	-	

TARANDA DANDAPATA :

8	-	-	Sarasvatipura.
4	-	-	Sidhapura.
32	-	-	Kalipura.
4	-	-	Sri-Ramapuru.
1	-	-	Lakhiminarasimhapura.
4	-	-	Vasudevapura.
4	-	-	Javapura.
4	-	-	Ganini-Lakhimipura.

bāṭi	*māṇa*	*guṇṭha*	Village
1	12	-	Vivapurushottamapura.
Total-62	12	-	

YESTESVARA PARAGANA TALUKA :

8	-	-	Pura-Jagannathapura.
16	-	-	Sikharapuru.
1	-	-	Tali-Purushottamapuru.
Total-23	-	-	

DALUVA PARAGANA TALUKA :

57	16	-	Huma-Brahmapura.
13	10	-	Bhagavatipura.
4	-	-	Bappagrama.
71	-	-	Madhyapuru.
Total-145	9	-	

LAJITI-DANDAPANI-PARAGANA :

16	-	-	Brundavanapuru.

From this village the tenants supply 881 seers of salt per year to the temple of Śrī-Jagannātha Svāmī.

The total extent of lands of the above mentioned villages is 2,551 *bāṭi*, 13 *māṇa* and 16 *guṇṭha*, which belong to Śrī Jagannātha Svāmī and Vimalādevī to perform their *pūjā* including in the *sarat ṛtu* (*daśarā-pūjā*).

Four *kaḍā* = one *gaṇḍa*; twenty *gaṇḍas* = One *paṇa*; sixteen *paṇas* = one *kāhāṇa*.

Four *mesha* (*chelī*)	cost is	14	*kāhāna.*
Four Sixty-one do.	do.	16	do.
Four do. do.	do.	18	do.

Total:48 *paṇa* for 12 *meshas.*

These sheeps are to be sacrificed before Devī (Vimalā) in *aṣṭamī* and *navamī pūjā.*

300 *kāhāṇa kauḍi* = twenty rupees.

The tenants of the above village should pay for sixteen days *pūjā* of the mother goddess (Vimalā).

For the gold image of Kanaka Durgā who is worshipped the *Rājā's* palace, the tenants of Rahaṅga Paraganā are to pay 40 *kāhāṇa kauḍi* to purchase five sheeps at the cost of Rs.8/- each during the *pūjā* days. For this service, the tenants are given lands measuring 14 and 730 *bāṭis* in the above *Paraganā* and also in Koṭa-*Paraganā-Tālukā* as stated below to purchase the sheeps :

KOTA-PARAGANA-TALAUKA :

72 *kāhāṇa* for 12 sheeps Rs. 6/- per sheep 563 do. to be paid for 40 *bāṭis* of land. The tenants of Dega-*Paraganā* are to pay 30 *kāhāṇa* to purchase five sheeps. The number of the tenants is 21.

The tenants of Ratha-*Paraganā Tālukā* are to pay 40 *kāhāṇas* to purchase 4 sheeps Rs.8/-per sheep. For this they are given 15 *baṭis* of land.

REFERENCE :

Madras Government's Oriental Manuscript Library D.No. 2612 & R.No. 1220.

APPENDIX - II

MĀḌALĀ PĀÑJI (TEMPLE CHRONICLES) OF PURĪ : A REASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE

The Mādalā Pāñji (Temple Chronicles) is an important old record which gives in detail the duties and responsibilities of the different functionaries of the temple of Lord Jagannātha of Purī and also some historical accounts relating to the *Rājās* of Utkala. A long list of rulers of Utkala is also included in that record which contains mostly traditional and Purāṇic accounts, completely unreliable or semi-reliable so far as the history of Utkala is concerned. Therefore, the records of the Mādalā Pāñji, may be divided into three parts, namely : (i) Purāṇical, (ii) Traditional or semi-historical and (iii) Historical. The first part contains the names of rulers copied either from Purāṇas or based on tradition. The second portion begins from about the 10th century A.D. and gives some historical names of rulers of Orissa, but includes many unreliable accounts. Basing on this, some historians have written the history of Orissa during the first half of the 19th century A.D. The third portion of the Pāñji contains mostly reliable history of the Rājās of Khurdā after the death of Mukundadeva when Kalāpāhāḍa destroyed the temple of Śrī Jagannātha and burnt the deities by the side of the river Gaṅgā in Bengal.

The name of 'Mādalā Pāñji' seems to have been derived from an official designation of a temple functionary called '*mudalī*'. He was an important officer under the imperial Gaṅgas. His main duty was to excute the king's order and record it separately by putting the royal seal or emblem on the document. The word '*mudalī*' seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit word '*mudrā*' and an official Known as '*mudrā-hasta*'. Prior to Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva this designation in respect of an official was not used by any king of Kalinga or Utkala. The earliest inscription recording such an official designation is one in which it is stated that a *mudal* or *mudusiri* (Li) of Vārāṇasi Kaṭaka (the capital of Utkala) had donated a perpetual lamp in the temple of Simhācalam.(1) The full name of the doner was 'Siriyā-Mudisiri' who lived in Vārāṇasi Kaṭaka (the modern Cuttack) in *śaka* year 1035 or 1213 A.D. The word '*mudusirī*' changed to *muduli* in the 13th century A.D., when Narasiṃhadeva-II was ruling over the country. In the years 1294 and 1296 A.D. Narasiṃhadeva issued two grants in favour of some

Brāhmaṇas after he came to Remuṇā-Kaṭaka[2], from Bengal where he promised to grant lands on the occasion of his sacred bath in the river Gaṅgā. His records were exhibited through the officers designated as *mudali.*

In view of these inscriptional evidences there is little doubt that the officer called *muduli* in 1294 and mentioned in the subsequent copper-plates of the imperial Gaṅgas of Utkala was the holder of the royal seal and in the subsequent period the written record of the same officer was called 'Mādalā Pāñji.'

According to the history of Orissa, the temple of Lord Jagannātha was attacked by the Muslim invaders who caused severe damages to the temple and its property. In 1568, after Mahārājā Mukundadeva, the last known independent king of Utkala was killed by some assassinator, while he was asleep in a military camp, the notorious iconoclast Kalāpāhāḍa attacted the royal palace in Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka and then employed his men to break the temples of Orissa indisciminately. He damaged the sculptures in Purī after ravaging the town of Purī and carried away the images of Jagannātha and Balabhadra to Bengal where they were set to fire. That cruel action has been remembered by the people of Orissa up to the present day. The whole town of Purī was deserted. The Mādalā Pāñji which was with the *deula-karaṇa* (the writer) must have been destroyed in that havoc.

From 1568 A.D. to 1580 A.D. there was no king in the Gajapati family of Orissa, who could resurrect the temple of Lord Jagannātha and instal the deities in it. According to a stone inscription of Aṭhagaḍa Fort, one Narasiṃha Gajapati[3] tried to recapture the throne of Utkala, but failed. Finally, a *śūdra* prince (or a military commander) named Rāmacandra was nominated by Mānasiṅg as the ruler of Orissa under the overall suzerainty of the Mughal Bādaśhah.

Although Rāmacandra's dynastic history is not known, from the Caini Cakaḍā record it is known that there was a small village called 'Khoradhā' which was in possession of a *suddha-savara* prince named Bali Vikramasiṅgha who presented that village to Rāmacandra. Sometime after, Rāmacandra killed that tribal prince[4] and renamed the village as 'Jagannāthapura-Kaṭaka. Although Rāmacandradeva belonged to a *śūḍra* clan, as he himself admitted in his Sirjong inscription, he was a very pious and popular ruler. He was praised by an Oriya poet, Dīnakruṣṇa Das, in 'Rasavinoda-Kāvya', written in the last part of the 17th century A.D.[5].

Rāmacandra's headquarters was in Khurdā, under the Baruṇāi hill, which was used by all subsequent *Rājās* of Bhoi dynasty till the arrival of the British invaders. *Rājā* Mukundadeva- II struggled hard against them, but at last suffered defeat and was imprisoned by them at Cuttack and later at Midnapur.

Rāmacandradeva had re-organised the temple of Purī, after having newly built the images of Śrī Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā and installing them at first at Khurdā and after two years in the great temple of Purī after due consecration. In 1580 A.D. the popular 'Navakalevara' cermony was performed in the Jagannātha temple. This cermony takes place every twelve years when two *Āṣāḍhas (adhika-Āṣādha*) occur within a year.

After setting up the deities and systematically organising the rites in the temple, he invited the *paṇḍits* and the *karaṇa* sevāyats of the temple to revive the custom of maintaining records in a new Mādalā Pāñji, and newly write the earlier portion, the older one being not available then. The Pāñji was probably re-written by the old *Brāhmaṇas* and also by *deula-Karaṇa* and *taḍau-Karaṇa* from their memory. Therefore, we find many newly coined stories inserted in the so-called dynastic history which are grossly fictitious so far as history is concerned. But, the later portion of the Mādalā Pāñji, recording matters from the sixteenth century onward, cannot be dismissed from the pages of history. According to the Pāñji, one Viśara Mahānti secured the *'Brahma'* (*Śālagrāma*) which was in the cavity of the heart of the image of Jagannātha after the body was burnt by the Muslims of Bengal. Viśaṛa Mahānti lived in Kujaṅga fort and he gave the *Brahma* for restoration in the shrine of Lord Jagannātha. Since then Rāmacandradeva has been regarded as the second Indradyumna by the *sevāyats* of Orissa. The descendants of Viśara Mahānti were allowed to go into the private chamber (Anavasara-gṛha) where the new images were kept hidden behind a *'tāṭi'* (mat). Although the Mughal Emperors appointed their own Governors to rule over Orissa from Cuttack, the *Rājās* of Khurdā were availing semi-independence, for which reason they were frequently attacked by the Mughal *subadars* of Cuttack.

After Rāmacandradeva- I, his son and successor Puruṣottamadeva came to the throne in 1600 A. D. In his time when Hasim Khan was appointed as the Mughal *subadar* at Cuttack, a Hindu Rājput named Keshodās Māru attacked the temple of Jagannātha at Purī after he visited it in the guise of a pilgrim desiring

darsana of the Lord. *Rājā* Puruṣottamadeva, sent a huge army to expel the Rājputs from the temple. But his attempt failed when a large number of Muslim soldiers arrived from Bengal to revel the aggresion of Keshodās who was a Hindu prince, loyal to the Muslim Governor of Orissa and Bengal.

Taking advantage of the weakness of Puruṣottamadeva of the Bhoi dynasty, another Hindu prince, Rājā Kalyāṇa Malla, who was appointed as *subadar* of Orissa, attacked Khurdā in Circa 1617 A.D. After Rājā Kalyāṇa, Makarram Khan also attacked Khurdā in the 21st. *aṅka* year of Puruṣottamdeva. Thus, a diplorable situation arose in Khurdā and the neighbouring parts of Orissa, when the images of Jagannātha were temporarily removed from the temple of Purī town to some safe places. After Puruṣottamadeva, his son Narasiṃhadeva came to the *gadi* in 1629 A.D. In his time the expedition of Bengal and Orissa by Mughal prince Shahajahan took place. He was helped by the Sultan of Golkonda. In the 4th. *aṅka* (1623 A.D.), Ahmad Beg, the then Subadar of Orissa, fought against the Rājā of Khurdā. The Rājā escaped to the fort of Māṇatri where he removed the *Brahma (Śālagrāma)* from the body of the image of Śrī Puruṣottama. Then, the *Bhoga* of the deities was performed only with sweets, but when Bhīmasiṅgha, the chief Commander of the Mughal army, arrived to subdue the rebels, he again replaced the *Brahma* in the body of Śrī Jagannātha and the usual system of *'Anna-Bhoga'* continued for the second time. When Shahajahan visited Orissa, the trinity was removed to Maradā (in Ganjam). Tha *Rājā* of Āṭhagaḍa built a temple in the village of Maradā where the deities were kept and the usual rituals were performed(6).

From *Mādalā Pāñji,* we know that the temple of Jagannātha was repaired and plastered by a thick coat of lime to protect the structure from damage due to the saline atmosphere. The plastering work was completed within a year i.e. 1636-37 A.D. when Divyasiṅghadeva- I (1688-1716 A.D.) was the *Rājā* of Khurdha. During his time, the Mughal *Badsah* 'Auraṅgzeb directed the Nawab Ikram in Orissa to destroy the temple of Jagannātha at Purī, who deputed Mir Sayyid Mohammad for the job. The *Rājā* 'Durup-Singh-Deo' (Divyasiṃhadeva) who had the temple under him, asked Mir to introduce him to the Nawab Ikram. The *Rājā* promised to break the temple and to send the big idol to the emperor. He actually did break two statues of *Rakas* (*rākṣyasas*) which stood over the

entrance of the temple between the two battlements over the door. Those idols. which were made of sandal wood and had two valuable jewels set in their eyes, were carried off and sent to Aurangzeb at Bijapur, where they were thrown by his order on the steps of a mosque. From the *Mādalā Pāñji,* we get a detailed account of how the images were saved from the distress.

From that day onward each of the regular ritual of the temple was dissipated. No festival was organised. The pilgrams avoided to visit Purī. During that horrible period the deities were removed to Bāṇapur, from which place they were hidden behind Vimalā (goddess). The images were again brought to the original temple in or about 1699 A.D. During the period the great temple was vacant as in 1694 there was a furious cyclone in Orissa, which displaced the *Nīla-cakra* from the top of the Jagannātha temple and caused frightful destruction in Purī and a terrible famine in Orissa. A large number of people incurred death. The death role was so severe that according to the *Pāñji,* out of hunger, men ate men's flesh. Thus the morale of the peole was completely broken. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the rituals began to be performed and the festivals were held as usual. The Car festival was performed in great pomp.

In the time of Rāmacandradeva- II (1727-1736 A.D.) the Muslim attack on the temple or Lord Jagannātha by Takki Khan again created chaotic conditions in Purī. The deities were removed to Bāṇapur and then to Āṭhagaḍa (Ganjam) or Ṭikkāli (now in Āndhra Pradesh) for safety. In 1733 A.D. Rāmacandradeva brought back the deities to Purī to perform the *Guṇḍicā-yātrā.*The matter was reported to Takki Khan at Cuttack. He grew angry and sent his men to destroy the images. Therefore, again the images were sent to Māradā (Āṭhagaḍa in Ganjam district). In that frightful situation no pilgrim could come to *Śrī-Kṣetra* (Purī). Thus, the Mughal Government lost a huge amount of 'Pilgrams-tax'. Perhaps that caused the Muslim rulers to start a new type of attack on Hindu religion. The then Governor of Orissa Murshid Kulli Khan refrained from taking any action against the religious institutions of Orissa, particularly against the temple of Jagannātha of Purī, where some important festivals were performed attracting a huge number of pilgrims from different provinces, leading to collection of a very large amount as Pilgrams-tax by the Mughal Governors of Orissa.

Before declaring the liberal policy, Murshid Kulli Khan and his adviser Mir Habib must have planned to keep Rājā Rāmacandradeva at Cuttack as an interned prisoner in a building by the side of a Muslim officer's quarters. The *Rājā* was under confinement at Cuttack, according to the Mādalā Pāñji, for two years and four months. During that period he fell in love with a beautiful Muslim girl, said to be the daughter of the Subādār (Keslli Khan) himself. There is no direct evidence as to whether the intermixing was a pre-planned affair or a love affair, but in the natural events a love between the Hindu *Rājā* and the Muslim girl was a shocking event. When Murshid Kulli came to know about the affairs between his daughter and Rāmacandradeva, he must have been forced to order inter-religious marriage which had to be carried out.

After the marriage was performed according to the Muslim system at Cuttack, Rāmacandradeva was relieved from confinement and he arrived at Khurdhā with his Muslim wife. But he was outcast by the Hindus, for which reason he became a *Rājā* deprived of all rights of functioning in the temple of Jagannātha. Meanwhile the images of the trinity were brought from Māradā (Āṭhagaḍa) in 1735 A.D. Murshid Kulli seems to have shown sympathy to the Hindu community especially in the matter of the restoration of Lord Jagannātha to his original seat at Purī.

Rāmacandradeva's last part of life was miserable. He died in 1737 A.D. at Narasiṃhapur. In 1736, Mir Habib (Account and Finance Officer) nominated Padmanābhadeva of Paṭiā, who ascended the *gadi* or throne of Khurdā only for a year. In 1737 A.D. Murshid Kulli Khan appointed Vīrakeśarīdeva, who was supported by the powerful *Rājās* of Ghumusar, Nayāgaḍa, Khaṇḍapaḍā and Anugula. He was on the *gadi* of Khurdā for about 56 years (1737-1793 A.D.).

The Marahaṭṭās occupied Orissa in or about 1751 A.D. after a treaty was concluded between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonslā of Nagpur. *Rājā* Vīrakeśarīdeva and the Hindus of Orissa remained under the Marahaṭṭā subjection. That the *Thākur Rājā* of Khurdā, who was the sole representative of the supreme Lord Jagannātha, should live under the Marahaṭṭā Chief was rather a shameful event. Thinking so, the then Gajapati Mahārāja, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva of Pāralākhemundi, sent a message to Vīrakeśarīdeva to remove the Marahaṭṭā rule from the country of Lord Jagannātha and for achieving that object, he was prepared to send his army to Khurdā. But, his attempt was not successful, although

temporarily he captured the Jagannātha temple of Purī. The Marahaṭṭā *subādār*, who regarded Lord Jagannātha as the supreme god of the Hindus took more interest in the collection of money through the 'Pilgrims Tax' than in the advancement of the economic condition of the people. Indiscriminately the Marahaṭṭās used to extract money from the poor peasants. Thus poverty reached its peak. Flood and famine broke the back-bone of the peasantry. Many inhabitants fled to the neighbouring *Zamindāris* or *Gaḍajātas*, even though they had no intention to live far from the temple of Lord Jagannātha. Some developmental work was done in the temple of Purī. The grand mother (*Ṭhākur-mā*) of Vīrakeśarīdeva constructed the '*Ratna-Singhāsana*' (*vedi*) in the inner sanctum of *Śrī-mandira* in which the figures of her self and her grandson were embossed in relief, with a line of inscription denoting 'this is Vīrakeśarīdeva, this is *Ṭhākur-mā*'. The *Pāṭamahādevī* Vīrakeśarīdeva re-plastered the main temple for which work all the available lime stone in Orissa was exhausted and though even couris (Conch shell) were burnt in very large number to produce lime, a small portion of the work had to remain unfinished.(7)

Now, we will go back to prove the reliability of the accounts of Mādalā Pāñji, which was written afresh in the time of Rāmacandradeva-I during C. 1570 A.D. The writer or writers of the 'Mādalā Pāñji' have written that in 1568-69 A.D., after the death of the independent Rājā Mukundadeva, the Muslim Governor of Bengal occupied the throne of Orissa and then a terrible havoc took place owing to the attack by Kalāpāhāḍa, the notorious iconoclast, who removed the image of Śrī Jagannātha from the temple of Purī and flinged his wooden structure into fire on the bank of the Gaṅgā in Bengal. After the deity's body was completely burnt and the watchers had left the cremation ground, one devoted Hindu, Biśara Mahānti, who was following the Muslim carriers of the images upto Bengal, secured the *Brahma* or *Śālagrāma-Śilā* which was kept in the body of Śrī Jagannātha and kept the sacred object in his own possession at Kujaṅga. After about four or five years i.e. 1572-73 A.D., when Rāmacandradeva - I, came to the throne of Khurdā and accomplished the *Navakalevara* of the deities, the *Brahma* or *Śālagrāma-Śilā* was brought from Kujaṅga and was installed in the body of the newly made image of Śrī Jagannātha. For the glory of retrieval of ceremonial performence in the great temple of Purī, Rāmacandradeva was entitled as 'Abhinava-Indradyumna'. From an unpublished manuscript called Śrī-Kruṣṇa-

Bāchhalya-Caritam (Sanskrit drama), the following panegyric passage may be quoted here :

''नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः ।
सुत्रधारः - X X कमलनिर्विशेषचरणकमलस्य कमलामुखकमलातुलमाध्वीकमधुव्रतस्य नीलशैलशिरोमणेः भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य केनापि कारणेनावसररसप्रयुक्तहृदयस्य सांप्रतमभिनव-इन्द्रद्युम्नगजपतौ श्रीरामरम्यचरणकमलरोलम्व रामचन्द्रदेवकोटिजन्मार्जित सुकृतप्रभाववति कृपावशतः प्रकटितदारुमय-मधुरमूर्त्तेः पुण्डरीकाक्षस्य गुण्डिचामहोत्सवोऽयं तदनन्तरसंस्थं भगवन्तमनादिमध्यन्तमनन्तमालोक्य जन्म सफलयामि ॥''(8)

After a long duration of abandonment of the rituals and the festivals of Lord Jagannātha, that renovation impelled courage and pleasure in the minds of people of Orissa and the Hindus in general. Therefore they all forgot that a *Śūdra Rājā* of Bhoi clan like Rāmacandradeva, who was not entitled even to touch the image, could perform all the sacred duties of the Gajapati kings concerning the deities. According to Dr. H. Kulke, the date of the renewal of the Jagannātha cult after Kalāpāhāḍa, must have been 1590 A.D.

The early history of Rāmacandra is very uncertain, but he was probably the son of Danāi Vidyādhara, a powerful minister of the Gajapatis. According to some chronicles Rāmacandra was imprisoned by King Mukundadeva in Rājāmundry. In 1568 during the confusion after Mukunda's death, Rāmacandra escaped and took shelter in a fort near Vizāgāpaṭnam, but he had to flee again after three years when Muslims tried to capture him, most probably in connection with the conquest of south Orissa upto Chicacole by the Golkondas in 1571-72. With a few followers he settled down in Khurdā after he had ritually killed the owner of this place, a *savara* chief. Within the next years, Rāmacandra seems to have succeeded in establishing himself as an able leader (nāyaka) in no-man's land between the spheres of influence of Golkonda and the Afghans. Nothing is known about the early history of Rāmacandra in Khurdā. But it must have taken several years for him to establish himself firmly and to gain the confidence and support of leading officers and priests of the former *Gajapatis*. We have, therefore, no reason to distrust the tradition of the Oriya annals that the anarchy (*arājakatā*) in Orissa lasted till the *śaka* year 1502=1580-81 A.D. (MP, III, P. 62 J.K. P. 339 f.) and that Rāmacandra was selected as the king of Orissa by the ministers and grandees

of Orissa that year. This tradition is corroborated by the above mentiond account of Akbarnāmā that during 1580 A.D., the *Zamindars* of Orissa had got the upper hand (AN. Vol. III, P. 469).

The Temple chronicle reports that Rāmacandradeva renewed the Jagannātha cult during his 11th *aṅka*, i.e. during his 9th regnal year, 1588-89 A.D. This version of the Mādalā Pāñji includes also the interesting supplementary account that Rāmacandra had the images first renewed in his own capital Khurdā during his 9th *aṅka* i.e. 1586-87 A.D. According to this account he transferred them only two years later to Purī and re-established them in a grand ceremony on their 'Lion Throne', in the Great Temple. During this cremony he was honoured as the 'second Indradyumna', named after the legendary founder of the cult. As according to our analysis of the Persian chronicles, no renewal of the Jagannātha cult in Purī itself was possible as long as it was occupied by the Afghans, we have good reasons to accept the account of the annals of Purī that, the images were first renewed by Rāmacandradeva in Khurdā in about 1587 and only two years later solemaly consecrated on their 'Lion Throne' in Purī. This dating leads us directly to the historically better documented events of the year 1590, when Mānasiṅgh in his contract on the 15th August had freed Purī from the yoke of the Afghans and declared it as crown land of the Mughul empire"(9). From the above accounts we get greater historical truth in the accounts in Mādalā Pāñji except a few deviations here and there, than what we find in the contemporary Persian chronicles. Hence the legitimacy of the Mādalā Pāñji as a historical document cannot be questioned and it should not be expunged from the pages of history as suggested by Dr. Fleet, in these words "the whole account of the Mādalā Pāñji should be expunged bodily from the pages of History"(10). The view of Dr. Fleet was supported by some Oriya scholars like Paramānanda Āchārya. But we cannot ignore the history found in the *Pāñji* of the period after the Sūryavaṃśī kings, when Govinda Vidyādhara usurped the throne of Orissa in about 1535-36(11). Therefore, we believe that a new Mādalā Pāñji was compiled in the time of Rāmacandradeva-I, after he came to the *gadi.*

The previous accounts relating to the Gaṅga and Sūryavaṃśī kings of Orissa must have been collected from the Purāṇic stories and also from traditions. Therefore, a good number of super human events inserted in it, have marred the historicity of the chronicle to some extent. Still there are some reliable accounts

in the Mādalā Pāñji of the period starting from the 12th century after the reigming period of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, the first emperor of the Tri-Kaliṅga territory belonging to the Gaṅga dynasty.

Of course, there are many confusing facts of that period which need thorough scrutiny to pick up the correct version, even as the accumulated husk is removed from a heap of grain. For example, in the story of 'Kāñci-Kāverī', it is described that Puruṣottamadeva Gajapati marched against the king of Kāñci and the gods Śrī Jagannātha and Śrī Balabhadra joined the expedition as cavalry fighters for the success of the Gajapati in the Kāñci war. It is known from inscriptions that Puruṣottamadeva, the Sūryavaṃśī king advanced his army as far as the river Tuṅgabhadrā and captured the country of Karṇāṭa. There he built a pillar of victory and tied the flag of the Orissan royal dynasty. Thus we cannot disbelieve the accounts of Kāñci invasion by Puruṣottamadeva although the story of personal participation of Śrī Jagannātha and Śrī Balabhadra in the expedition cannot be taken as historical. Such fables were inserted only in the early parts of the Mādalā Pāñji, when that was recast in a later date.

It was a known practice since time immemorial to use palm leaf as the main material of writing on any subject for long preservation in Orissa. The script used in Orissa was of a peculiarly rounded form. So the engraving on the leaf with sharp iron-pen or stylus (*lekhanī*) did not damage it. The longevity of the palm leaf was only two to three hundred years. Hence the usual convention in Orissa is that any writing on the palm leaves should be rewritten after every two hundred years. Therefore, the Mādalā Pāñji, must have been rewritten several times. Apart from this, for the safety of that important record, the later Khurdā *Rājās* had ordered to prepare at least three copies of the *Pāñji* for being kept under three persons (1) the *Rājā* of Purī, (2) the *Deula Karaṇa* and (3) the *Taḍau Karaṇa*, so that there was no chance or scope for interpolation in or destruction of that important record. Perhaps previously, no such system existed for which reason some irrelevent stories and names of sporadic dynasties and kings were inserted in Mādalā Pāñji, spoiling its historical value. Of course, we agree with the remark of Dr. K.C. Panigrahi that the number of the so called Keśarī kings was swollen considerably when the Mādalā Pāñji was revised[(12)]. The English force attacked Orissa through the south under the leadership of Col. Harcourt, who was advised

to keep the Hindus in general and the *sevāyats* of the temple of Jagannātha in particular, in his confidence before stepping into Orissa, because they were well aware that the Oriyas would tolerate all if their faith or religion was safe-guarded.

Col. Harcourt, therefore, on his arrival at Māṇikapāṭaṇā, after crossing the Cilkā lake had secretly sent a message to Purī *sevāyat-paṇḍās*, assuring that the English would not interfere in their religious affairs if they treated them (the English) in a friendly manner. At the same time he also bribed the Marahaṭṭā officers who guarded the fort of Bārabāṭi at Cuttack. Rājā Mukundadeva of Khurdā was also given some false promise of payment of a bulky amout. All these cunning strategies crowned the English in success who could thereby possess a vast kingdom with little pain of opposition in 1803 A.D.

Immediately after gaining victory, the Christian Government attempted to study the religious documents regarding the organisation, rituals and administration of the great Jagannātha temple of Purī. Accordingly, the Collector of Purī Mr. C.H. Grome, must have collected some information from the *sevāyats* (*Deula Karaṇa*, *Taḍau Karaṇa* etc.), under whose custody the Mādalā Pāñji was preserved. After appraisal of the same, he reported to the Government of East India Company at Calcutta through the Secretary to Commissioner, Cuttack, on the 10th June, 1805 A.D., about the property and the system of administration including the rituals and festivals of the temple of Jagannātha at Purī. Two years later in 1807, another Collector, Mr. Webb, also submitted a similar report to the Government. Mr. Grome stated in his report that 'there is a *Pāñji* or bundle of leaves called '*Karmanee-potee*' in which is written the duties of every description of a *shewar*' (*sevayat*) or servent of the temple, and it is an established rule that they perform these ceremonies and conform to the line of conduct therein laid down'.

After receiving their reports, the Company's Government seems to have taken interest to know the contents of Mādalā-Pāñji, which was the only document of Regulation codified for the temple administration since some unknown time. Hence a translation of the *Pāñji* in Sanskrit language seems to have been prepared which was used as a reliable source by Col. Mackenzie, the Surveyor-General of India in 1815 A.D. Ho was transferred to Calcutta in 1817 August. A. Sterling, the Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack, followed his foot-steps by obtaining

another copy of the Mādalā Pāñji. The Sanskrit version of the *Pāñji* obtained from a *Brāhmin paṇḍit* of Purī must have been the result of a contract with him by some European officers or it might have been preserved in the family of the *paṇḍit*. We cannot agree with the fact that the 'Oḍra Rājā Vaṃśāvali' (a new title of Mādalā Pāñji), now preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, under the Mackenzie Collection, was a document preserved in the family of the *Brāhmaṇa pandit* after being composed by some of his ancestors, three or four centuries earlier his family.[13]

From epigraphical sources it is known that the *akṣapaṭalas* were the writers and record keepers under the ancient kings. The last known *akṣaśālin* (*akṣapaṭala*) is mentioned in the Śrīkākulam copper-plate grant of Vajrahastaḍeva made in 1040 A.D.[14] Afterwards during the imperial Gaṅga period, the designation was changed and later the designation '*mudrāhasta*' or '*mudiratha*' was used for the officer who was in charge of the royal seal to impress upon the State documents or records. In Oriya this stamp was also called '*mudala*'. The officer, who was in the charge of keeping the important records of the State, was recruited from the *karaṇa* class and his sole business was keeping of important records concerning the dynastic history, properties, day to day expenditure and the duties of temple affairs etc. Therefore, there was no necessity for any *Brāhmaṇa* family of Purī to maintain a record like 'Mādalā-Pāñji' or 'Oḍra-Rājā-Vaṃśāvali'.

The earliest Telugu copy of the Pāñji under the caption 'Jagannātha Sthala-Vṛttāntam', collected by Col Mackenzie has been preserved in the Madras Government Manuscript Library in Madras. In 1971, the present writer secured a duplicate copy of that record and translated it for editing on behalf of the German Research Project on 'Sources of Orissan History'.

Another Sanskrit version of Mādalā Pāñji entitled 'Kaṭaka-Rājā-Vaṃśāvali' of the same collections by Col. Mackenzie was edited by Dr. Gayacharan Tripathy and Dr. Hermann Kulke of Germany. The original Telugu version of many other records called Mackenzie's collection are also kept in the same library at Madras wherefrom the present writer secured copies of those Telugu records in April, 1958[15]. But Jagannātha Sthala-Vṛttāntam is different from the Sanskrit version under the same title. Dr. Kulke says, 'the Sanskrit manuscript has several peculiarities. First the date is clearly stated in the colophon as *Kaliyuga*

4921=1820-21 A.D. Furthermore, in the enumeration of kings of Orissa it follows very strictly a system of highly symbolical numbers. For instance, Rāmacandra-III, the contemporary *Rājā* of Puri, has been described as the 108th king of Orissa. The author of the chronicle has retained 18 as the number of Gaṅga kings in Orissa, as recorded in the earlier Oriya chronicles (historically 15 are known) and reduced accordingly the number of Keśarī kings from 44 as recorded in the earlier Oriya chronicles to the more sacred number of 36. But even more significant is the fact that, this Sanskrit chronicle of the year 1820-21 is the only hitherto available chronicle which does not only mention the actual years of the regnal period of the kings on the Oriya *aṅka* system of reckoning, but gives also the *śaka* years of the reigns of all kings of Orissa. Although there existed already an earlier but a merely genealogical list with *śaka* dates written in Oriya(16) the achievement of the author of the Sanskrit chronicle was considerable. Its systematic organization of the material has to be ragarded as the culmination of traditional historical writing of Orissa. But it leaves out a number of interesting historical details of the 17th and the 18th centuries known from other Oriya chronicles and contains at least an interesting dis-improvement which, however, helps to verify its date of composition.

This laudatory comment by a respectable scholar like Dr. Hermann Kulke creates puzzle in our minds as he gives extraordinarily more weightage on the fictitious line of 'Keśarī-kings' in the history of Orissa. From no epigraphical record, we find either the name of a royal dyansty as 'Keśarī-Vaṃśa' or any king of that dynasty except of Yayāti-Keśari who probably, was identical with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti of the Somavaṃśa dynasty of the history of Orissa. His son, Udyota Keśarī also possessed the title 'Keśarī'. But, his name is not included in the genealogy of the so-called Keśarī kings of Orissa as described in the Mādalā Pāñji.

After the publication of the contents of the Madala Panji by A. Stirling in his long article under the caption 'Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa proper or Cuttack' in 1822 A.D., the regular history of Orissa was written by W.W. Hunter on the basis of that record as collected by A. Stirling. According to Stirling's statement, the source of information derived by him was (i) 'A work in Sanskrit called the 'Vaṃśāvali', belonging to a learned *Brāhmin* of Purī, said to have been originally composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries

back, and continued down in the family to the present date. (ii) The chapter of the Mādalā Pāñji or records preserved in the temple of Jagannātha called Rājā Caritra or 'Annals of the kings' in the Oriya language, which are stated to have been commenced upon more than six centuries back and to have been since regularly kept up, (iii) Another *Vamśāvali* or genealogy written in Sanskrit on leaves of the *palmira* tree, procured from a *Brāhmin* living under the family of the Rājā of Puttia (Paṭiā) Sarenggarh, one of the branches of the royal house of Orissa[17].

After the publication of the History of Orissa by W.W. Hunter and that of A. Stirling in English, many Oriya and Bengali historians have attempted to collect the Mādalā Pāñji from different sources. Among them we may mention the names of Pandit Mrutyanjaya Ratha, Advocate Jagabandhu Simha of Puri and Professor Artaballabha Mahanti of Orissa and Ramaprasada Chanda of Bengal.

It is not out of place to say that the history of several royal dynasties of Orissa were not known to Hunter, although he tried to give a full picture of the history of Orissa in his work. For example, many copper-plate inscriptions relating to different dynasties of Orissa had not been discovered in his time. Only a few epigraphical records were afterwards edited by scholars in the research journals published in Calcutta by the Asiatic Research Society of Patna (Bihar). Meanwhile, the abridged 'Oḍiśāra Itihāsa' of Krupasindhu Misra was compiled on the basis of the histories of Orissa by A. Stirling and Hunter, in which a long list of Keśarī kings and their performances have been narrated. That Oriya history was the only source for the High school students of the history section. Therefore this idea remained impressed in the minds of the tender-aged, even after the discovery of several epigraphical records proving that the Keśarī dynasty was nothing but a myth or legendary account in the Mādalā-Pāñji. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, perhaps stirred the minds of many by stating in the 'Mayurbhanja Chronicle' that one Lalāṭendu Keśarī built the great temple of Kṛttivāsa (Liṅgarāja) at Bhubaneswar. He further stated that there was a stone inscription on the summit of that temple in which the following verse was inscribed :

"गजाष्टेशुमिते जाते शाकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः ।
प्रासादः कारितो राज्ञा ललाटेन्दुश्च केशरी ।।"[18]

It means that in 588 *śaka* year (= 666 A.D.) the temple was built by Lalāṭendu Keśarī. Actually, this verse is not found anywhere in any of the inscriptions of

the said temple, although the same verse was mentioned in a Sanskrit version of Mādalā Pāñji entitled "Kaṭaka-Rājā-Vamsavali".[19]

This type of distortion had damaged the history of Orissa produced by R.L. Mitra in two volumes under the patronage of Maharaja Purnachandra Bhanja Dev of Mayurbhanj. Dr. Ramaprasad Chanda, who was also patronised by the said Maharaja, collected in 1926-27 from different sources a few versions of the Mādalā Pāñji (text) and critically published an edition of it in the Research Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. About 13 years after, professor Artaballabha Mahanti also made an attempt to re-edit the Mādalā Pāñji, which he individually collected from the *Deula Karaṇa* and the *Taḍau Karaṇa* in 1940. The main object of the Oriya Professor of Revenshaw College, Cuttack, was to make a thorough study of the proto-Oriya language, a subject in which he was an expert.

As stated before, after the destruction of the images of the temple of Purī by Kalāpāhāḍa, and after the temple *sevakas* (servants) had run away, during a colossal devastation that took place in Puri, the invading Muslims were killing men, abducting women, looting property and burning houses indiscriminately. Consequently the entire area was deserted for a long time.

During that havoc, most probably, the old palm-leaves of Mādalā Pāñji could not be saved. Therefore, as we have stated before, in the time of Rāmacandradeva-I, a new 'Mādalā Pāñji' was compiled by some *Brāhmaṇa paṇḍits* and old servants. The *Pāñji* which was engraved in or about 1568 A.D. must have been revised after 150 or 200 years with some new additions or omissions. We may call it the second phase of the *Pāñji* after its compilation in the time of Rāmacandradeva - I, and this second version was available to Col. Mackenzie, A. Stirling, R.P. Chanda, A.B. Mahanti etc.

The worth of Mādalā Pāñji cannot be dismissed on the ground that some fabricated stories have been introduced in the first portion of its history chapter. No doubt, some eminent historians like Dr. K.C. Panigrahi have laboured much to re-establish the historicity of Mādalā Pāñji. In 1961 Dr. K.C. Panigrahi published a book under the caption "Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavaṃśīs of Orissa" in which he discussed about a traditional story narrated in Mādalā Pāñji as follows : "A *yavana* king named Raktavāhu came to Purī

through the sea route, when the deities of Jagannātha temple were removed to a far off place like Sonepur and buried near a village Gopali. The town of Purī was deserted for a pretty long time. The *sevāyats* (temple-servants) of Śrī Jagannātha had vacated their hearth and home in fear of the raid of Raktavāhu, the *yavana*. Dr. Panigrahi takes this story into the area of the history of Purī, although that traditional account was not mentioned in any early chronicles. Dr. Panigrahi's theory is that Raktavāhu's invasion of Purī may be taken as identical with that of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Govinda-III's (793-814 A.D.) invasion of Oḍraka, as stated in the Sañjan plates of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Amoghavarṣa-I[20] (871 A.D.). Govinda had defeated the kings of Mālava, Kośala, Kaliṅga, Veṅgi and Oḍraka during his second expedition. The Rāṣṭrakūta kings were devoted Hindus and had granted hundreds of *Brāhmaṇa-śāsanas.*[21] Govinda-III's expedition was on the land route from Veṅgi and Kaliṅga, but not through the sea-route. He being a devoted worshipper of the Hindu gods and a protector of Hindu temples, there was no necessity of removing the deities from the temple of Purī and making Śrī-Kṣetra deserted. Raktavāhu was clearly mentioned as a *yavana* king (Non-Hindu). Therefore, we cannot agree with the hypothesis of Dr. Panigrahi, although some young scholars of Orissa support his theory. One of his supporters Dr. B.K. Ratha even goes in his thesis, to the extent of trying to prove the historicity of Keśarī kings of Mādalā Pāñji saying that, "from the Mādalā Pāñji it is known that the Keśarī king Bhīma Keśarī had installed Sapta-Matṛkā images by the side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Purī. This Bhima Kesari............ was identified with the Somavaṃśī king Bhīmaratha."[22] He also states that a cave of Khaṇḍagiri at Bhubaneswar, which is now called Lalāṭendu Keśarī, was excavated by a Keśarī king of that name. Such hypothesis regarding a significant event of the history of Orissa, yet not thoroughly explored, we fear, may misguide the future scholars.

After the so called Keśarī kings as stated in Mādalā Pāñji, the Gaṅgas came to the throne of Utkala. The first known king was Coḍagaṅgadeva who was said to have been brought from Karṇāṭa by a *Brāhmaṇa* named Vāsudeva Vahinīpati in 1054 *śaka*-year (=1132 A.D.).[23] From the history of Orissa, based on reliable epigraphical evidence, we know that it is the actual year when Coḍagaṅgadeva defeated Karṇadeva, the Somavaṃśī king, and amalgamated the countries of Kośala, Kalīnga and Utkala together. His minister, Vāsudeva Vahinīpati, had brought Codaganga from Karnāta (Kāñci), the Country of his maternal grand-

father. Vāsudeva Vahinīpati may also be a historical person, although his name can not be traced in any inscription, so far discovered. In the Kaṭaka-Rājā Vaṃśāvali, however, it is stated that Coḍagaṅgadeva ruled the country for twenty years i.e. upto 1152 A.D.[24] From the Gaṅga inscriptions we find that Coḍagaṅgadeva appointed his son, Kāmārṇavadeva as *yuvarāja* (crown prince) in the temple of 'Sarvalokaikanātha' (Jagannātha or Lokanātha) at Purī in 1142 A.D.

"वेदर्तुव्योमचन्द्रप्रमितशकसमा: प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे ।
चापस्थेऽन्यग्रहौघे बलवतिरिपुषु प्रक्षयं प्राप्तवत्सु ।
अस्मिन् मूर्द्धाभिषिक्ते नृपवरतनये सर्वलोकैकनाथे
श्रीमत् कामार्णवेशे जगदभिवदिदं तत्तदानन्दपूर्णम् ।।"[25]

So far as the dates of the Gaṅga kings given in the *Vaṃśāvali* of Mādalā Pāñji, are concerned, the Kataka-Rājā-Vamsavali prevails in the order while comparing them with those in the Gaṅga inscriptions issued by Narasiṃhadeva-IV (1377/78-1413/14 A.D.).[26] But the total number of years according to Rājā-Vaṃśāvali is 320 years covered by 18 kings, while it is 339 years upto the reign of Narasiṃhadeva-IV which ended in 1413/14 A.D. If we add the reigning years of the last Gaṅga king Nissaṅka-Bhānudeva who might have ended his rule in Orissa in or before 1436 A.D. then the total years of the Gaṅga period will be counted at about 396 years. Of course this number adds 55 years reign of Coḍagaṅgadeva before he invaded Utkala. Thus, the total period of the Ganga rule of Orissa was about (394-55=341) or 340 years which tallies with the number given in the Rājā-Vaṃśāvali.

The Rājā-Vaṃśāvali quotes two Sanskrit verses in relation to construction of the Jagannātha temple of Purī and the Sūrya temple of Konārka, the two glorious works of the Gaṅga kings, namely Anaṅgabhīma and Narasiṃhadeva. The verses are given hereunder :

"शाकाब्दे रन्ध्र-शुभ्रांशु-रूप-नक्षत्रनायके ।
प्रासाद: कारितो राज्ञाऽनङ्गभीमेन धीमता ।।"[27]

It means that the temple (of Jagannātha at Purī) was built by the glorious king Anaṅgabhīma in the *śaka* year 1119 (1197 A.D.) and-

"सपुच्छनरसिंहेन क्ष्मेश्वरेणांशुमालिन: ।
प्रासाद: कारितो राज्ञा शके द्वादशके शते ।।"[28]

It means that the temple of the Sun (god) was built by the king Narasiṃha (called) '*Sapuccha*' in the *śaka* year twelve hundred (=1278 A.D.).

The Mādalā Pāñji (Oriya version) also states that the temple of Jagannātha was built by Anaṅgabhīmadeva. But when we refer to the *praśasti* verses of the Gaṅga kings in inscriptions, we find that Coḍagaṅgadeva was the first king who started the construction of the great temple, which remained neglected by the previous kings of Utkala. Hence, it is clear that the rough structure of the great temple was built by Coḍagaṅga while his grandson Anaṅgabhīma-II (1190-1197/98 A.D.) completed it with architectural and sculplural art and with monuments necessary for such a great Viṣṇu temple of 100 cubits in height. But due to the shortness of the reigning period of Coḍagaṅgadeva in Utkala, the temple remained unfinished and vacant until the deities were installed by his great-great grandson, Anaṅgabhīma-III (1211-1242 A.D.).(29)

Like the Sanskirt version of Kaṭaka-Rājā-Vaṃśāvali, many other Telugu Rājā-Vaṃśāvalis are preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras and they are known as the 'Mackenzie's collection'. We have secured a true copy of that Telugu version, entitled 'Kaṭaka-Rājā-Vaṃśāvali', in April, 1958 from that Ms. Library.(30) But, it gives an account which is not like the one found in the Sanskrit version preserved in that Library. Another copy of it is also found preserved in India Office Library, London, under the caption 'Mackenzie collection-II, 102' which was received there at London in 14-9-1825.(31) According to the Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts (1882 ed.) Calcutta, H. H. Wilson the texts of those collections of Mackenzie were from Orissa. Therefore, it is evident that Mackenzie collected those manuscripts from Orissa, which were written in Telugu, when he was appointed as Survey and Settlement Officer in the then Madras province. In the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library, there are some more manuscripts under the titles (1) Laṅgaleśvara-Itihasa,(32) (2) Bārabāti-Kaifiyat,(33) (3) The Accounts of Gañjām,(34) (4) History of the Rulers of Kimiḍi,(35) (5) Ṭekkāli Zamindar(36) etc.

The earliest record relating to the *Zamindars* of Gañjām collected by Mackenzie, the Surveyar General, who took interest in collection of historical and dynastical accounts from the local *Zamindars* of Gañjām as well as Purī, is known from a Telugu record of 1814/15 A.D. In this regard we may refer below, what Dr. Hermann Kulke writes :

"The Survey of Gañjām district which belonged to the Madras presidency certainly had begun not later than 1814 when Mackenzie was still Surveyor General of the Madras Presidency. Several reports of the Mackenzie collection about the Gañjām district and its princely states are dated between 1814 and 1816 A.D. Less known, however, is the date of the arrival of Mackenzie's *pandits* in central Orissa and Purī in particular. The earliest known dated text of the Mackenzie Collection which refers to Purī is the above mentioned Telugu translation of an account of the dynasty of Puruṣottamadeva of the year 1814/15 A.D. (*Kali-yuga* 4915). But the text belongs to the less certain and trustworthy Vaṃśāvali-Pothis (Stirling) which have little in common with Purī's chronicles. These may well have been collected from any other place in Orissa. Of the year 1815, however, exists a large number of drawings in the Mackenzie Collection depicting chiefly sculptures at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Purī which were prepared during a journey from Bengal thro' the 'Woodia & Calinga Daum for the Coromandel Coast' from March to September 1815.[37] And furthermore we know an excellant drawing of the 'procession at the Temple Jagannātha in July 1818' which belongs to the Mackenzie Collection too. All these point to an increasing interest of Mackenzie in Purī and its Jagannātha cult from 1814/15 onwards. But of decisive importance seems to have been the year 1820, just one year before Mackenzie died. Due to his already badly weakened health, Mackenzie spent more than four months in Puri (22 May to 18 October 1820). But 'he was of no means idle, and kept in touch with surveyors in all parts of India, got texts translated, travelled to Bhubaneswar and Konārak and was in continuous contact with Benjamin Buxton, Surveyor at Cuttack and a gifted draftsman. It is quite revealing that all the ten drawings of the year 1820 which belong to the Mackenzie Collection are dated 27 May to 13 September 1820, a period which coincides exactly with Mackenzie's stay at Purī.[38]

After the conquest of Khurdā in 1804 A.D., the then *Rājā* of Khurdā, Mukundadeva, was imprisoned and sent to Midnāpur. But he was released in 1809 and lived in a newly built building in Bāli-Sāhi at Purī town. He was also bestowed with the power of controlling the affairs of the Jagannātha temple in accordence with Regulation-IV of 1809 A.D. when the Christian missionaries of England opposed in the Parliament that a Christian Government should not maintain any Hindu temple in India. We, therefore, assume that Mackenzie had taken keen

interest in the collection of records relating to the dynastic history from the Estates and the Temple. He did not miss the opportunity of fulfilling this object as long as he was holding the office of the Director General in the department of Survey and Settlement in Bengal (including Orissa) and Madras. From a Telugu manuscript captioned 'Puruṣottama-Dev',[39] it is found that the manuscript was completed in *kaliyugāvda* 4915 (=1814 A.D.). Therefore, there is no doubt that it is the earliest record regarding the Mādalā Pāñji of which the "Puruṣottama Vaṃśāvali' was a copy prepared in Telugu language for Mackenzie's instruction.

We wonder why Mackenzie had collected a temple record by appointing a Telugu copyist to translate this at Purī when a terrible '*Paika-Mutiny*', against the English Government under the patronage of Mukundadeva, the *Rājā* of Khurdā and Jagabandhu Vidyādhara, a leading Commander of Khurdā had started in 1809 and continued for a pretty long time. In 1817 about 400 tribal *Kandha* soldiers arrived at Purī from Ghumusar (Gāñjam) in support of the *paiks* of Khurdā and also of the temple *sevayats* of Purī. That in such a state of chaos in Purī and the neighbouring areas, it is wondered that Mackenzie's man was sent to that disturbed area to get a copy of the Mādalā Pāñji.

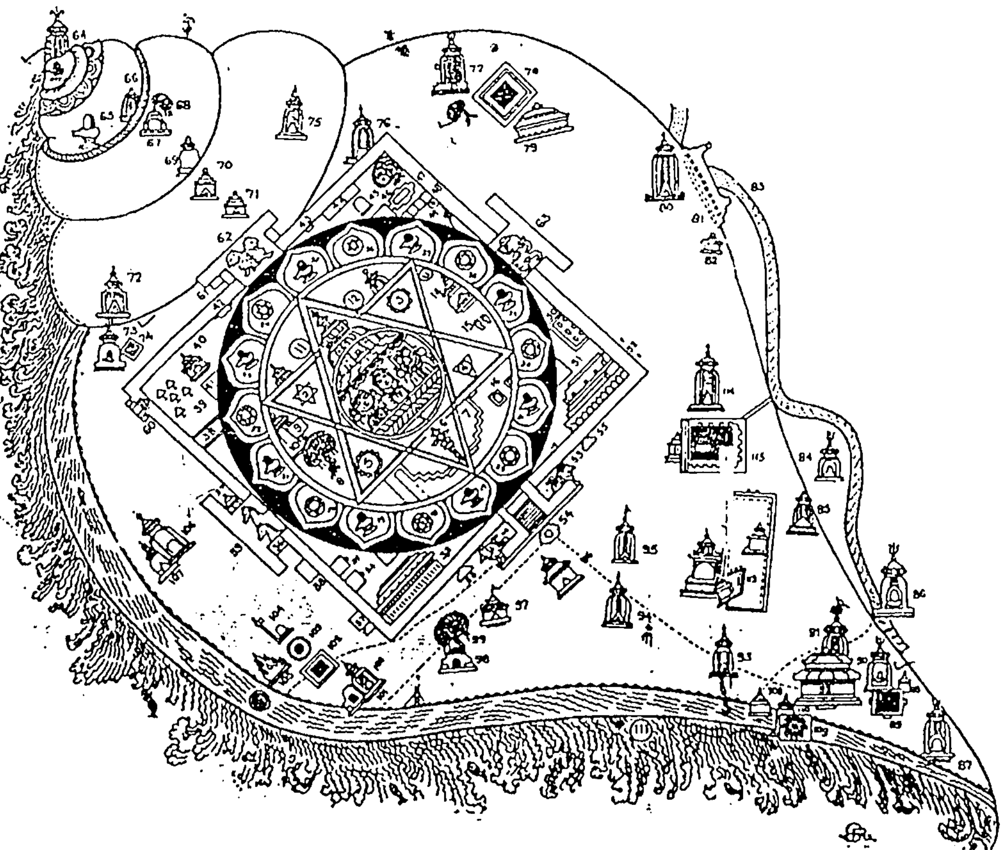


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Śaṅkha-Kṣetra

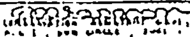


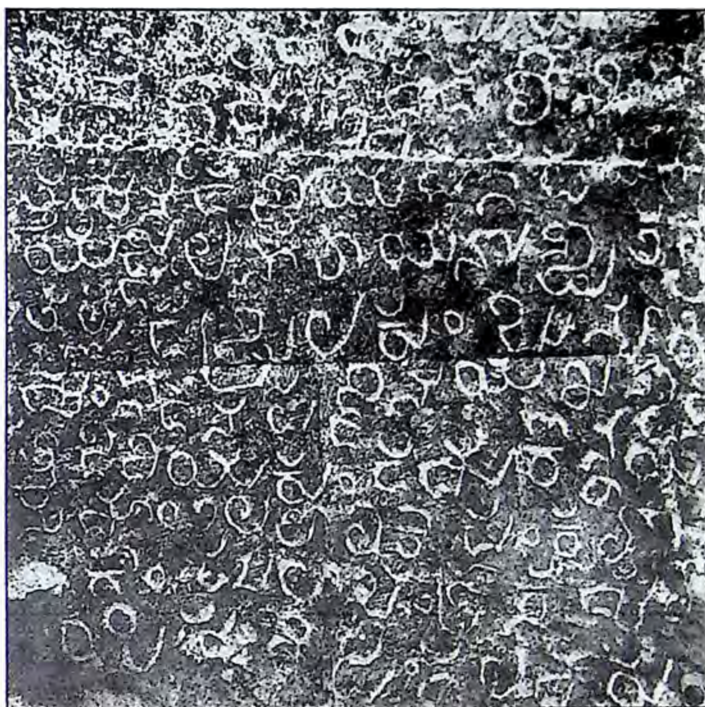
Purusottam khetra Puri is famous as Sankha khetra according to the old scripts of Skandha puran Bamdeva Samhita & Suta Samhita, Bhubaneswar as Chakra khetra, Konark as Padma khetra, Biraja pitha as Gada khetra and Puri is Sankha khetra are situated in Utkal. Famous places have been described below serially according to the old scripts.

1 Balavadra, Jagannath, Suvadra & Sudarsan
2 Sri Khetteswari Vimala
3 Sri Mahalaxmi
4 Uttara durga
5 Batamangala
6 Garudastamva
7 Bhogamandapa
8 Kalpabrukshya
9 Rohini Kunda
10 Bata Ganesh
11 Uchhta Ganapati
12 Sri Saraswati Devi
13 Nabagraha
14 Konark Suryadev
15 Padapadma
16 Yangyabata
17 Agneswar
18 Indranidevi
19 Khetrapala
20 Swana Vairabi
21 Mukteswari
22 Cristaxali
23 Batamarkondeya
24 Katyayani
25 Gopeswara
26 Bada kali
27 Pataleswara
28 Bhubaneswari
29 Vaikunthaswara
30 Yagnyaswari
31 Isaneswar
32 Sitala Devi
33 Pakasala
34 Dakhineswara
35 Kundaleswara
36 Ram Chaitanya Temple
37 Baravai Hanuman
38 Nirmalya Hanuman
39 Alaka Batika
40 Chakra Narayan
41 Rameswar
42 Chaturdhama
43 Kanapata Hanuman
44 Niladri Vihari
45 Bavabyeswara
46 Sialilata
47 Koili Vaikuntha
48 Tapaswi Hanuman
49 Suvarnakupa
50 Ananda Bazar
51 Devasnanmandapa
52 Meghanada Pachiri
53 Singhadwara (Est m g. te.
54 Aruna Sthamav
55 Badachhata Math
56 Chhauni Math
57 Pejanala
58 Prahari Hanuman
59 Dakhinadwar (Southerngate)
60 Durgamadhava
61 Mangaleswari
62 Paschimadwar (Western gate)
63 Uttaradwar (Northen gate)
64 Sri Lokanath
65 Rameswara
66 Kandunursingha
67 Kandu Asrama
68 Nikumvilabata
69 Harachandi
70 Chamundeswari
71 Banadurga
72 Basheli
73 Kapalmochana
74 Manikarnika teertha
75 Ghatamangala
76 Vagabati
77 Markandyeswara
78 Markandya teertha
79 Saptamatruka
80 Alamba Devi
81 Athar Nala
82 Makardhwaj Hanuman
83 Vargavi River
84 Mukteswara
85 Badamangala
86 Kapoteswara
87 Vilweswara
88 Sidha Hanuman
89 Indradumna teertha
90 Nilakantheswara
91 Adinrusingha
92 Gundicha Mandapa
93 Aradhasosani (Mausima)
94 Marchika Devi
95 Charchika Devi
96 Sodasha Puthi
97 Narayani
98 Anguasrama
99 Angirabata
100 Dakhina Kali
101 Ugreswarashrama
102 Swetaganga
103 Mukusila
104 Adisankara Pitha
105 Swargadwara
106 Varahi devi
107 Shyama Kali
108 Budi Hanuman
109 Chakra teertha
110 Chakra Narayan
111 [illegible]
112 Jagannath Ballava
113 Kashi Biswanatha
114 Visw wari
115 Nar [illegible]

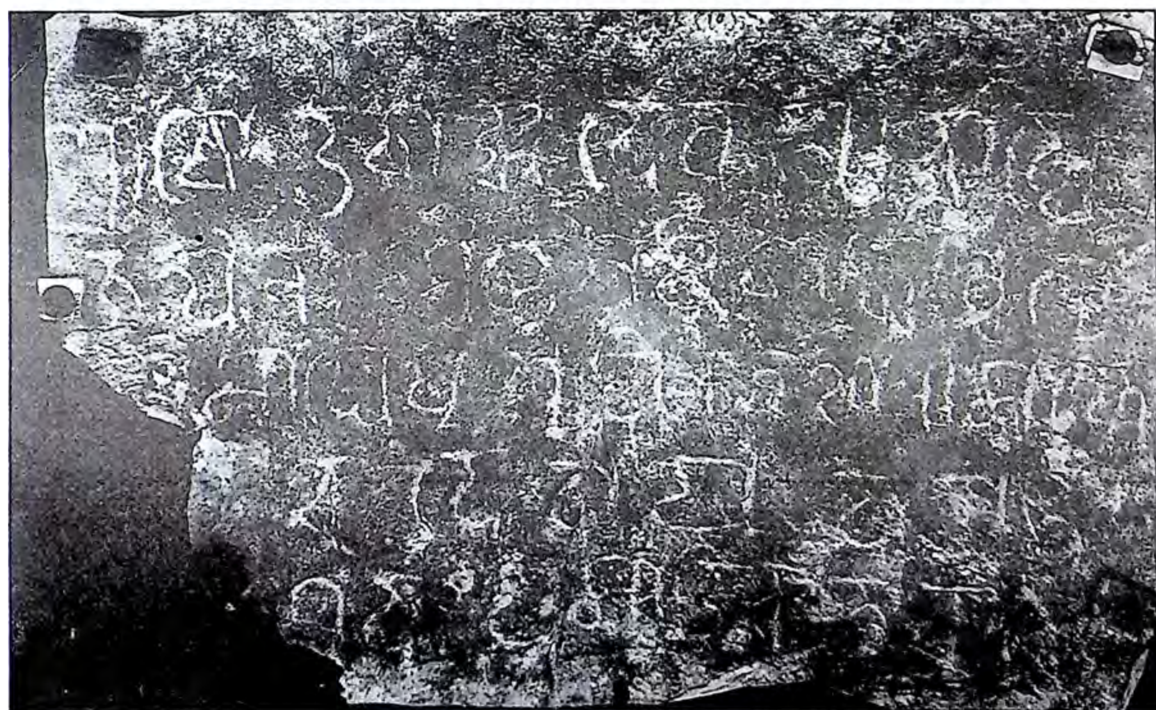
Map of Lord Jagannātha Temple (Longitudinal Section of the Vimāna-gṛha)

LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF VIMANA (GARBHAGRIMA) OF LORD JAGANNATH TEMPLE AT PURI

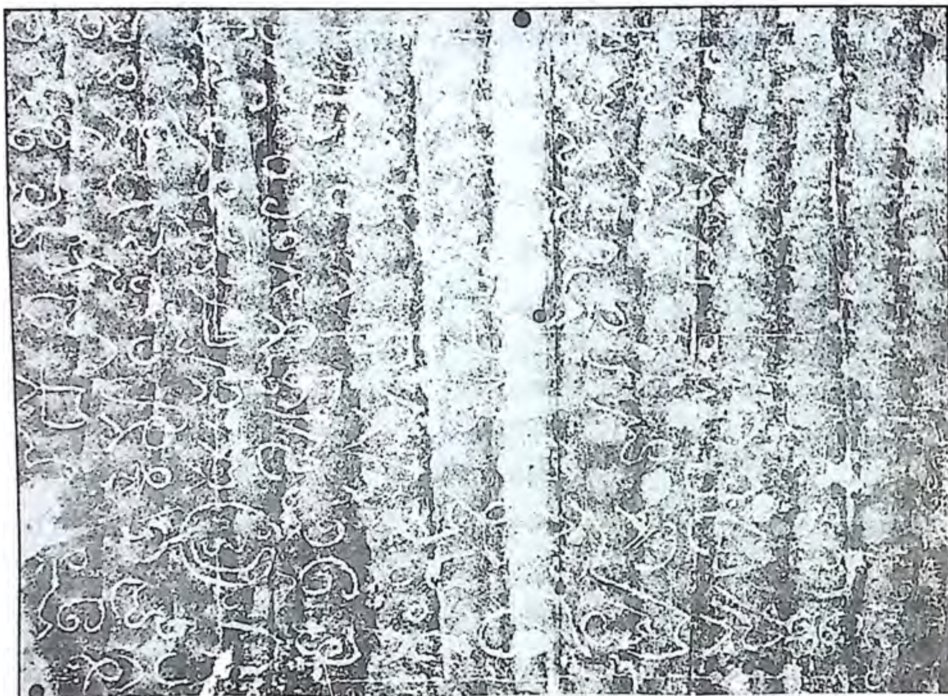




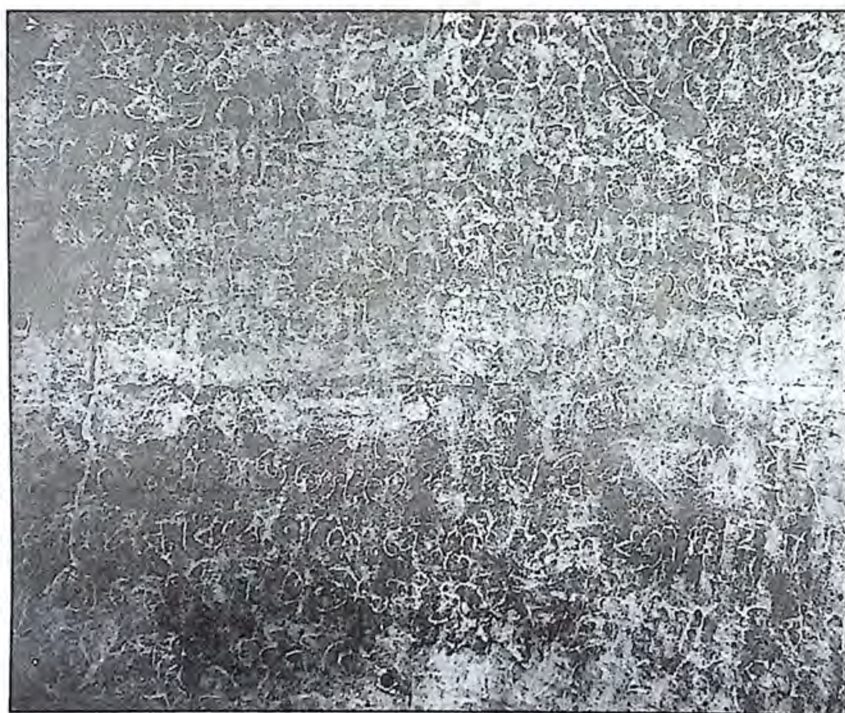
The Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 28)



The Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 29)



The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 30)



The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 31)
The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 40)

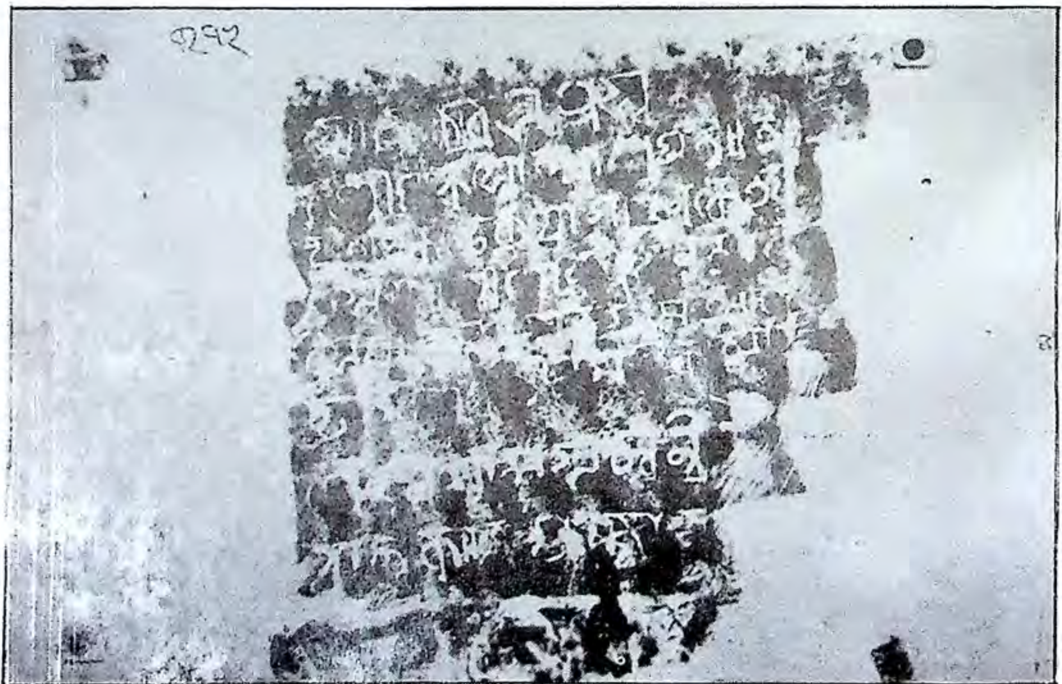


The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 32)



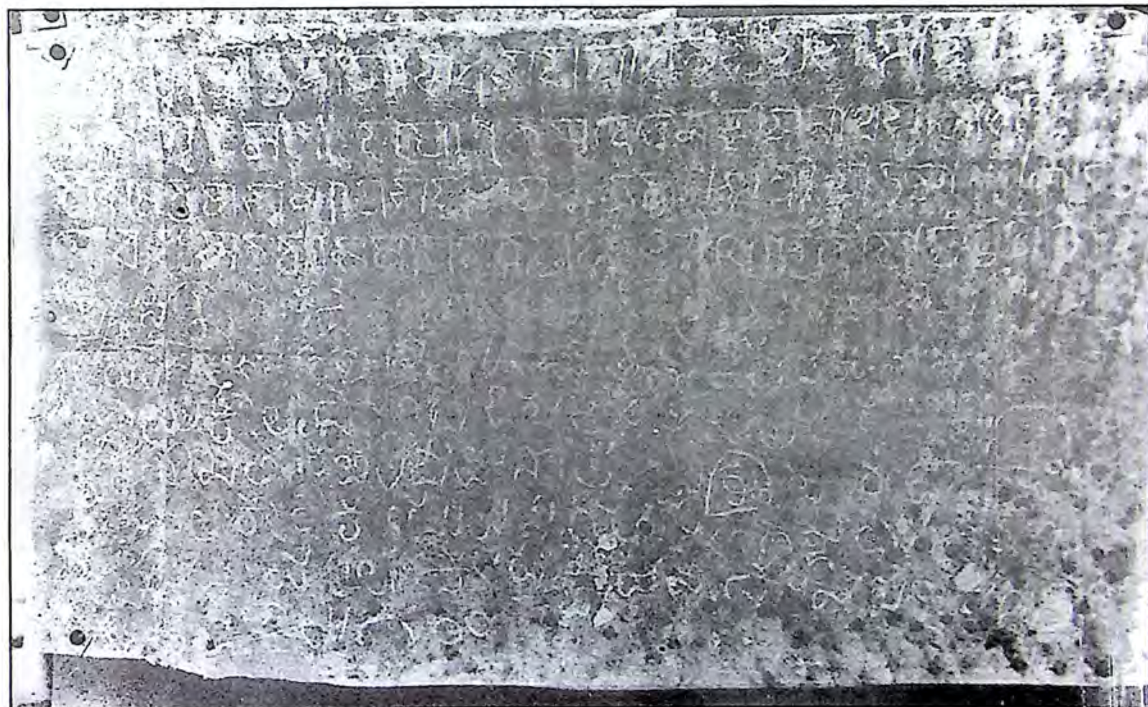
The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 33)

The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 34)



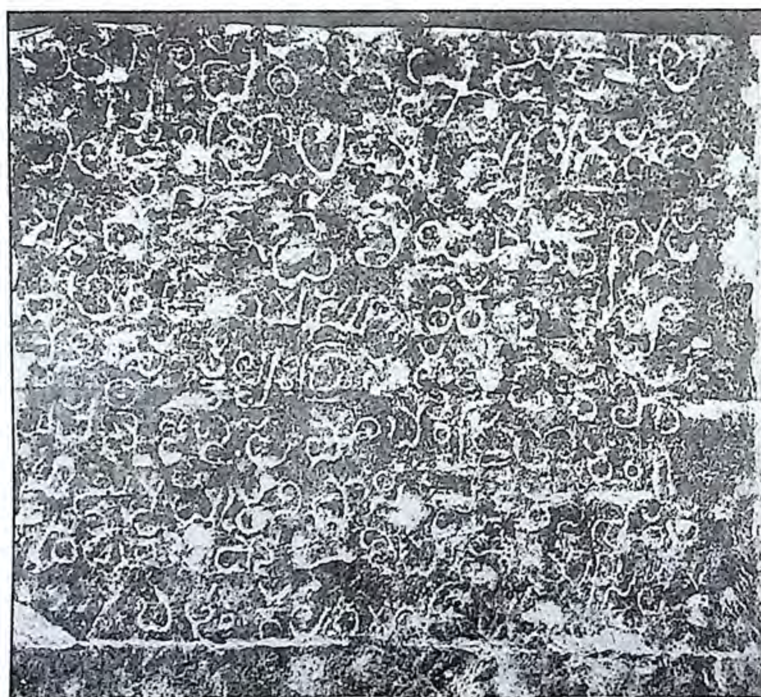
The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 35)


The Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 36)

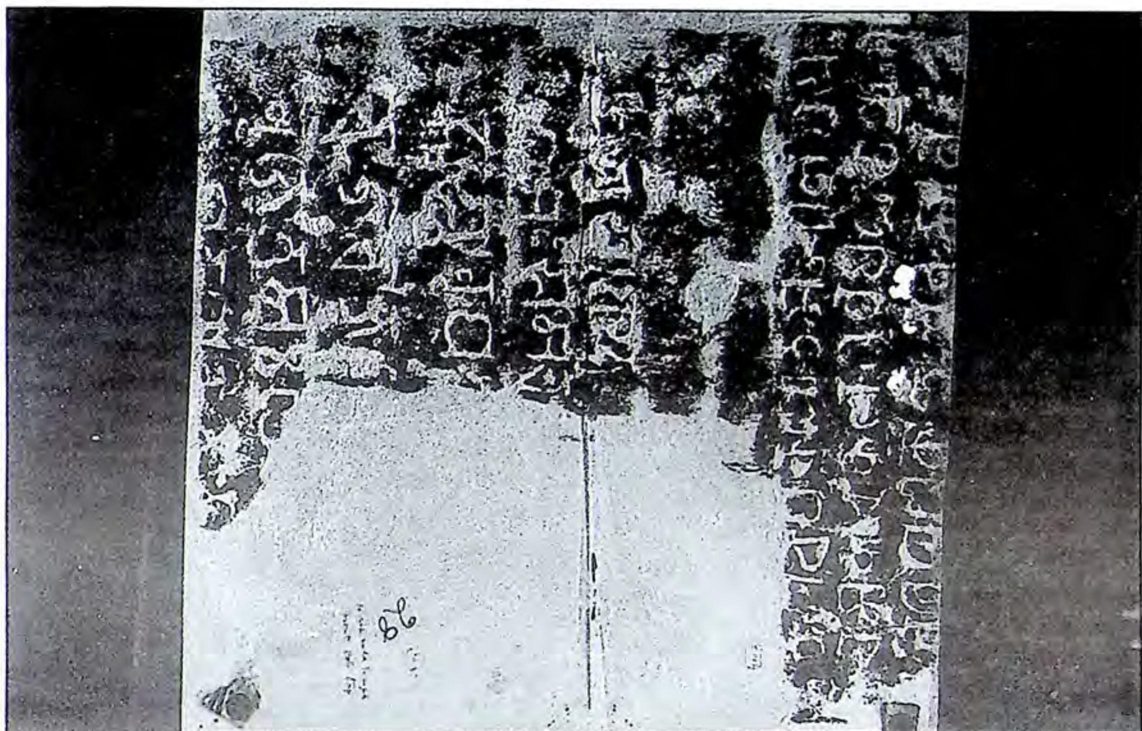

The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 38)



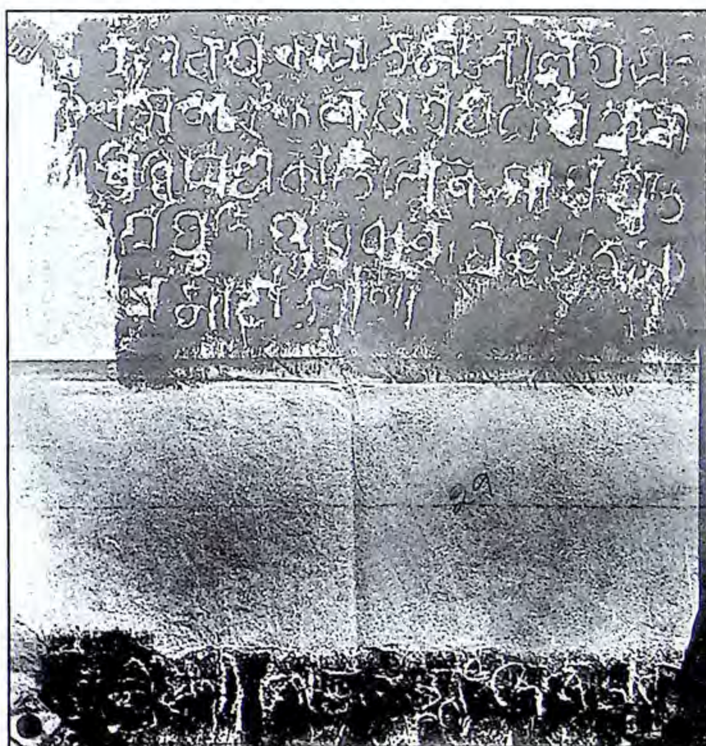
The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 39)



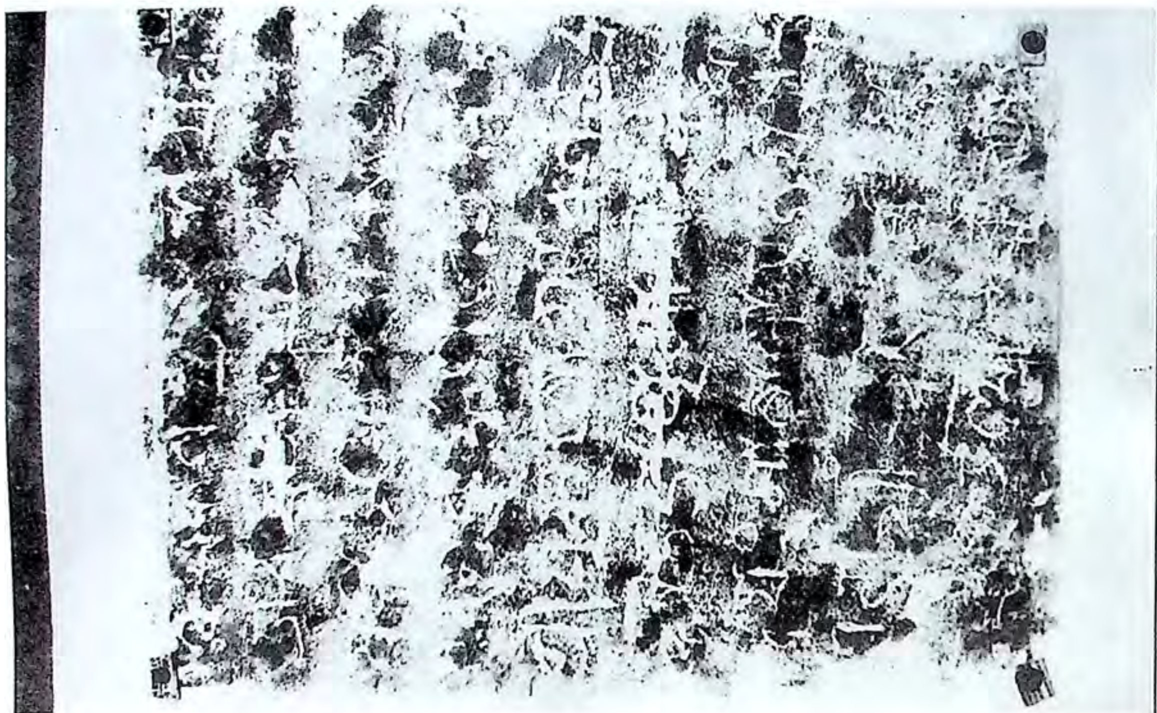
The Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 41)



The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 42)

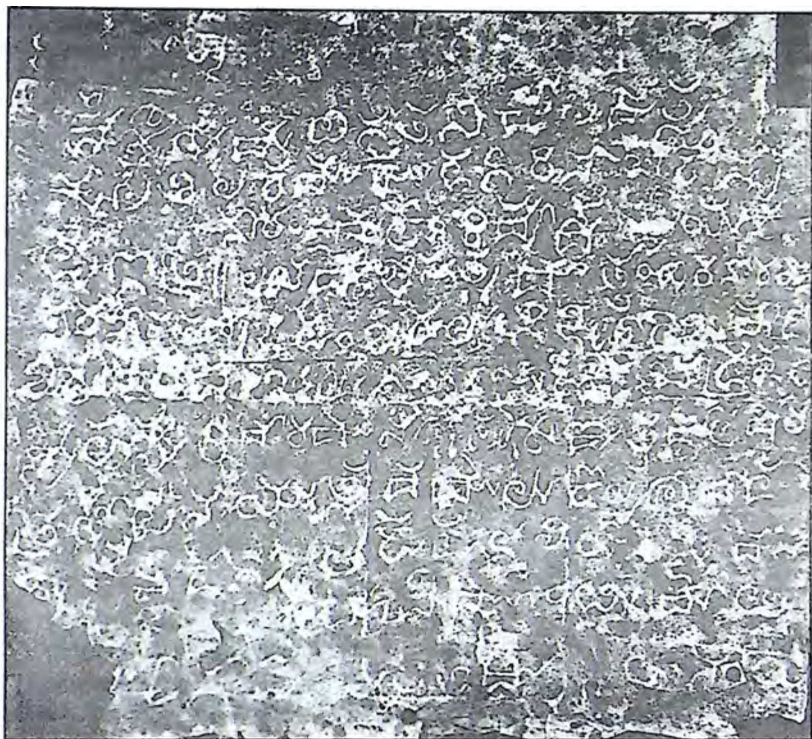


The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 43)



The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 44)

The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 45)

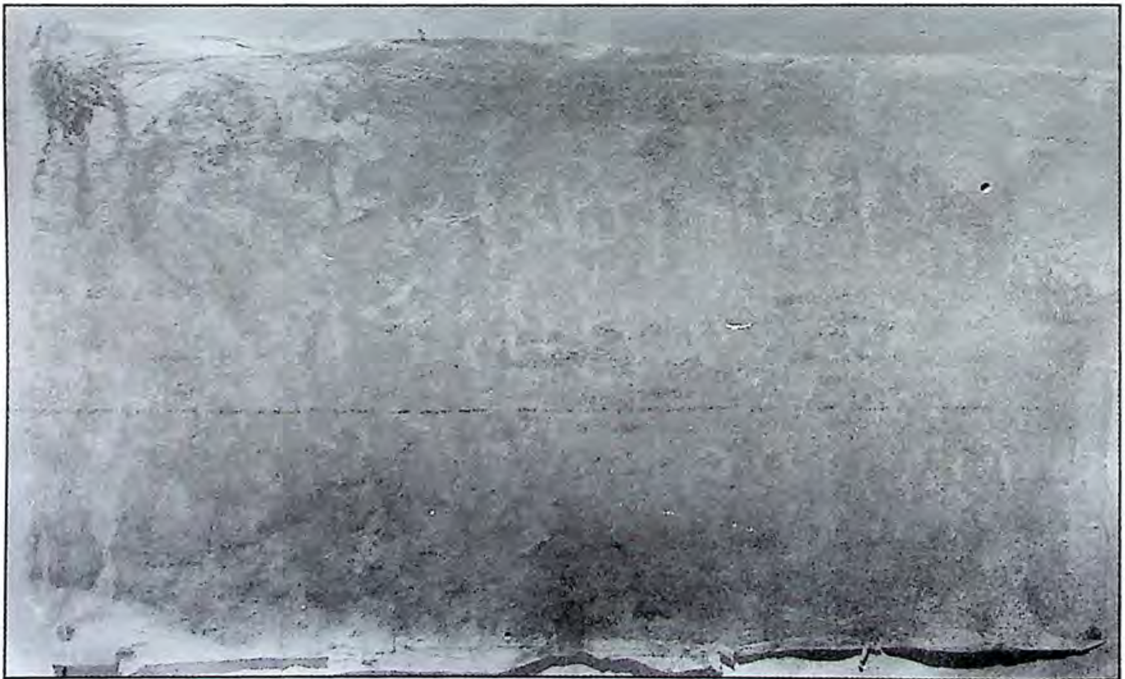


The Pātāḷeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 46)

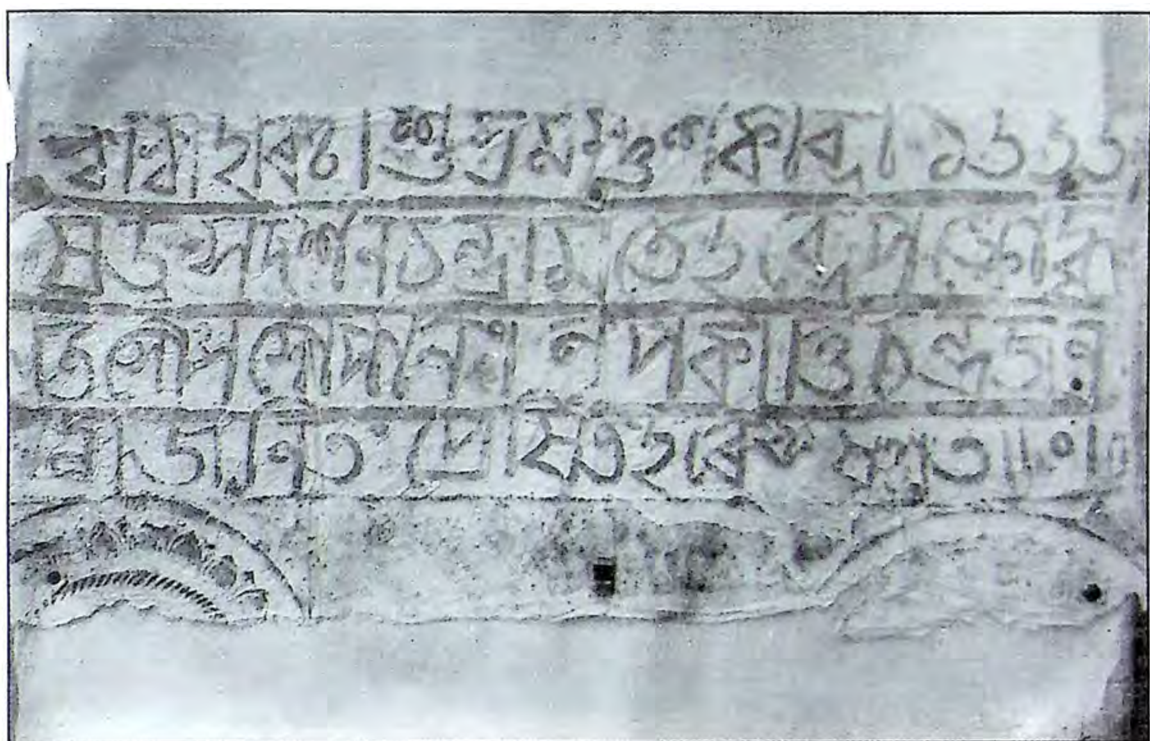


Lord Jagannātha Temple Western Gate Inscription (No. 47)

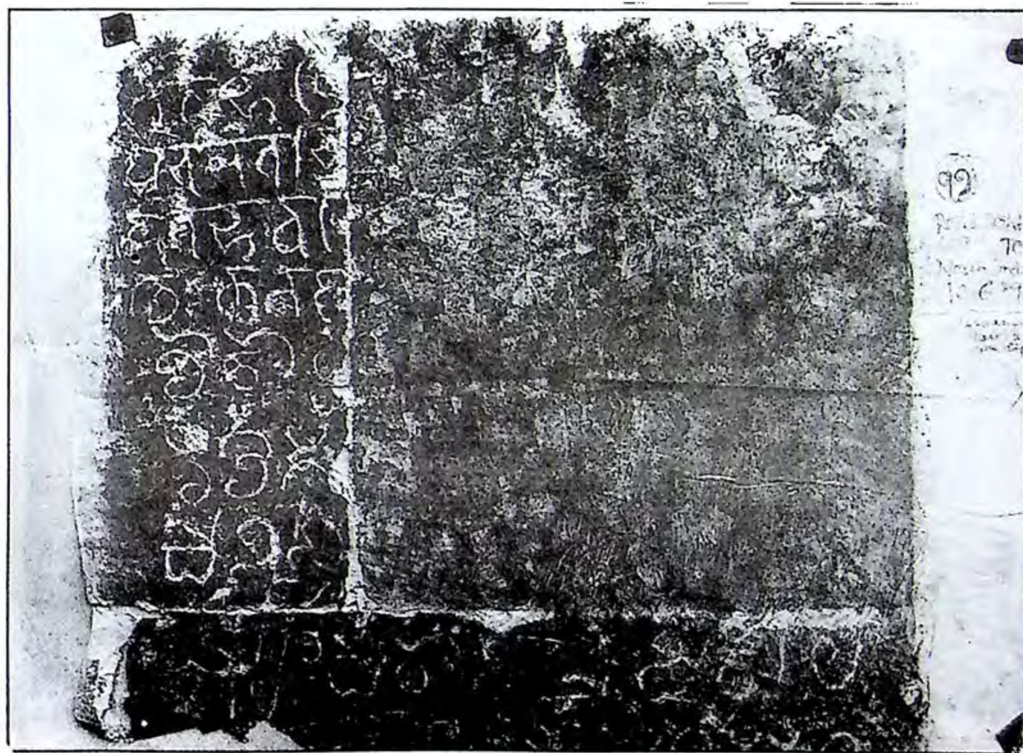
Lord Jagannātha Temple (Mini-model) Inscription (No. 48)



Lord Jagannātha Temple Inscription (No. 49)

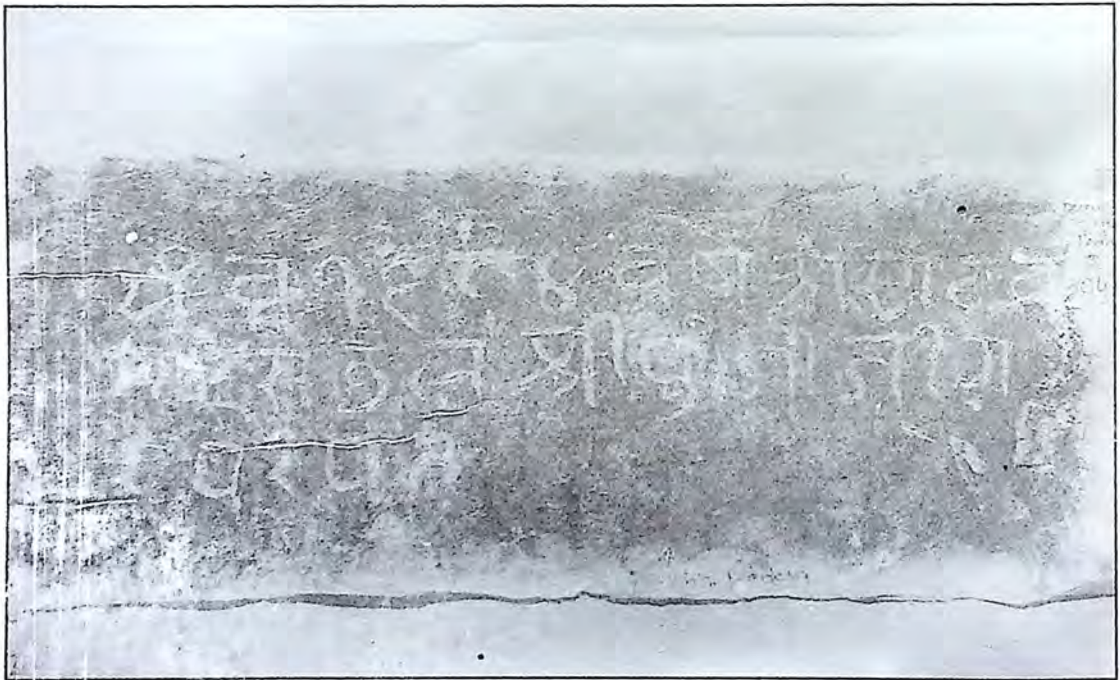


The Gopāḷa-kṛṣṇa Temple Inscription (No. 50)



The Nṛsiṃha Temple Inscription (No. 51)

The Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple Inscription (No. 52)



The Pañca-Pāṇḍava Temple Inscription (No. 53)

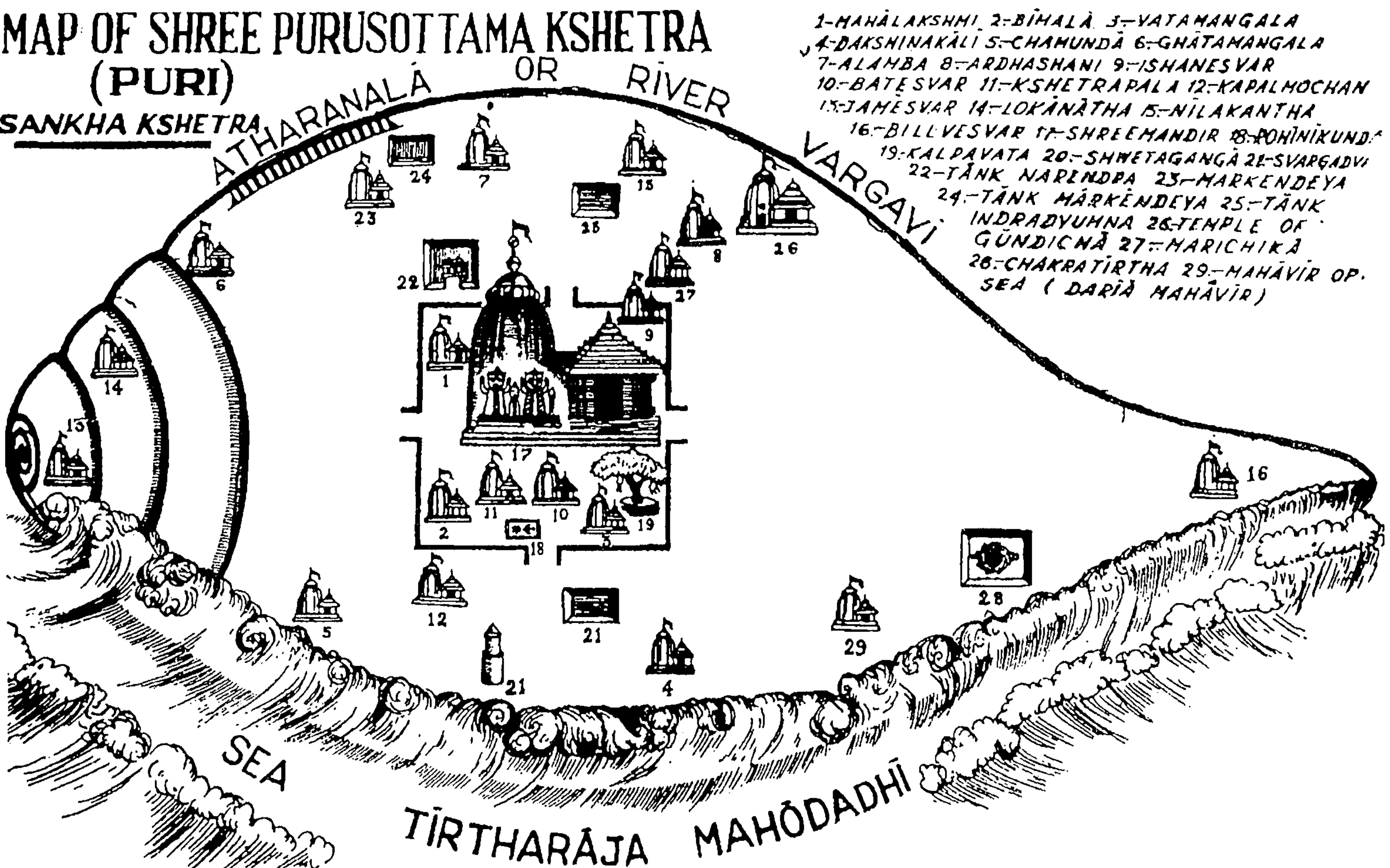


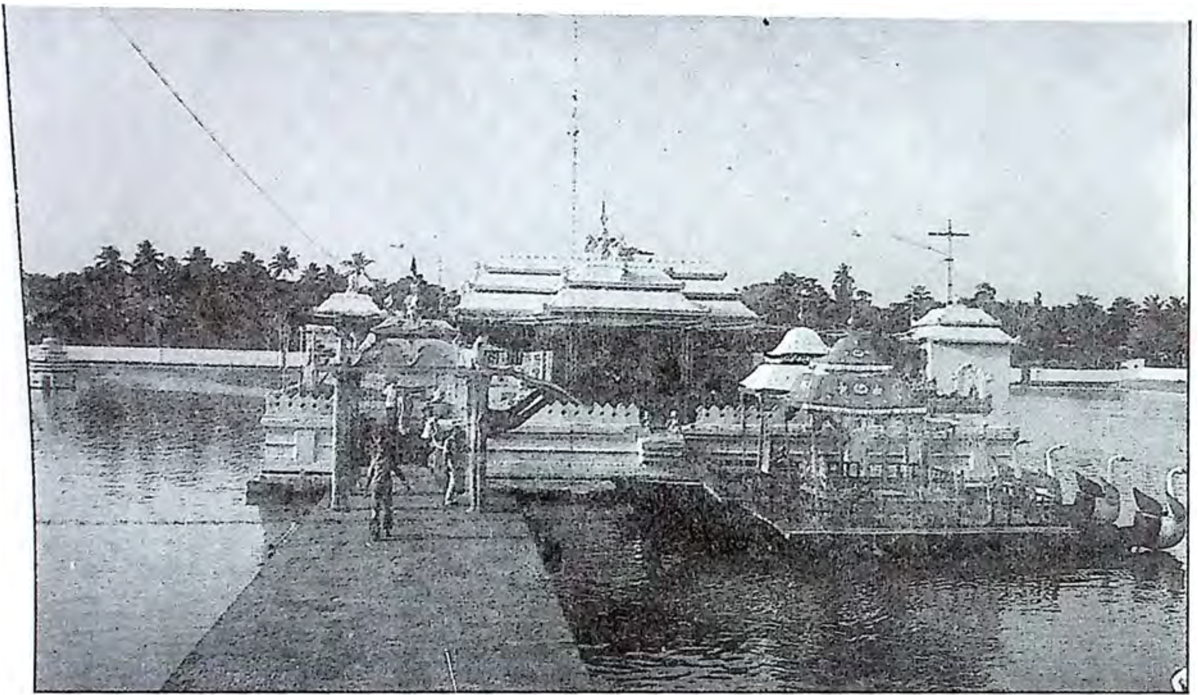
Jagannātha Temple, Puri.



Ratha Yātrā (Car Festival) Puri.

Map of Srī Puruṣottama Kṣetra





Narendra Tank, Puri.



Lokanātha Temple, Puri.



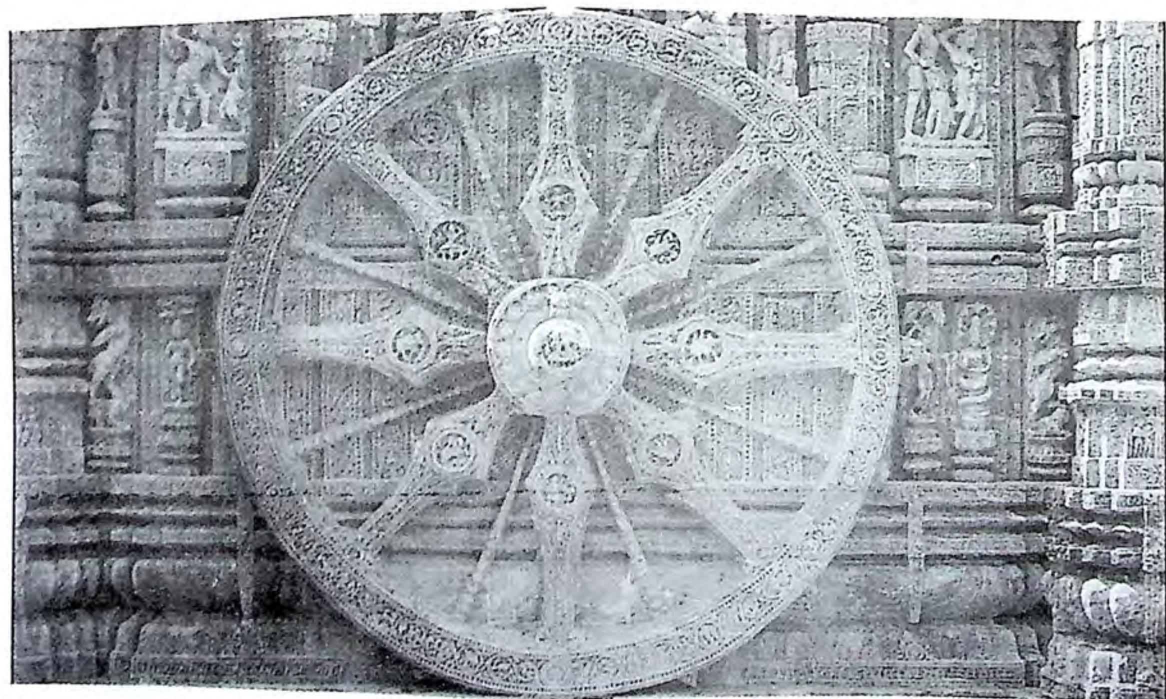
Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneswar



Mukteśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar.



Sūrya (Sun) Temple, Konark



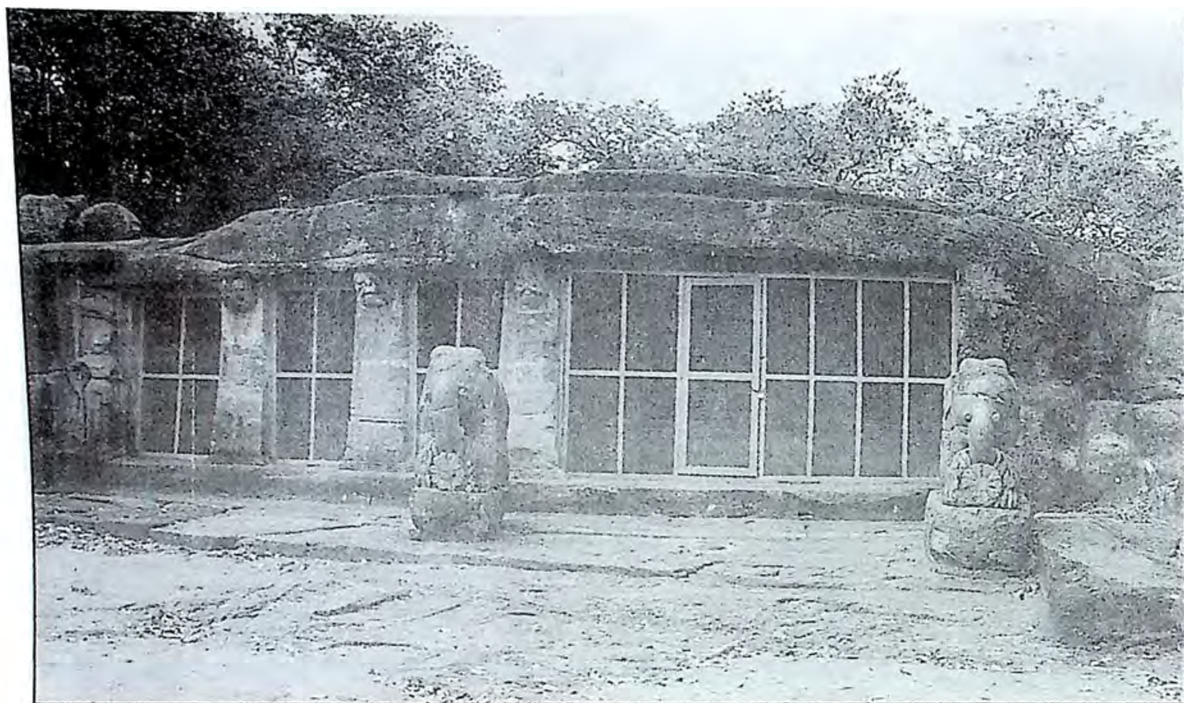
Wheel, Sun Temple, Konark.



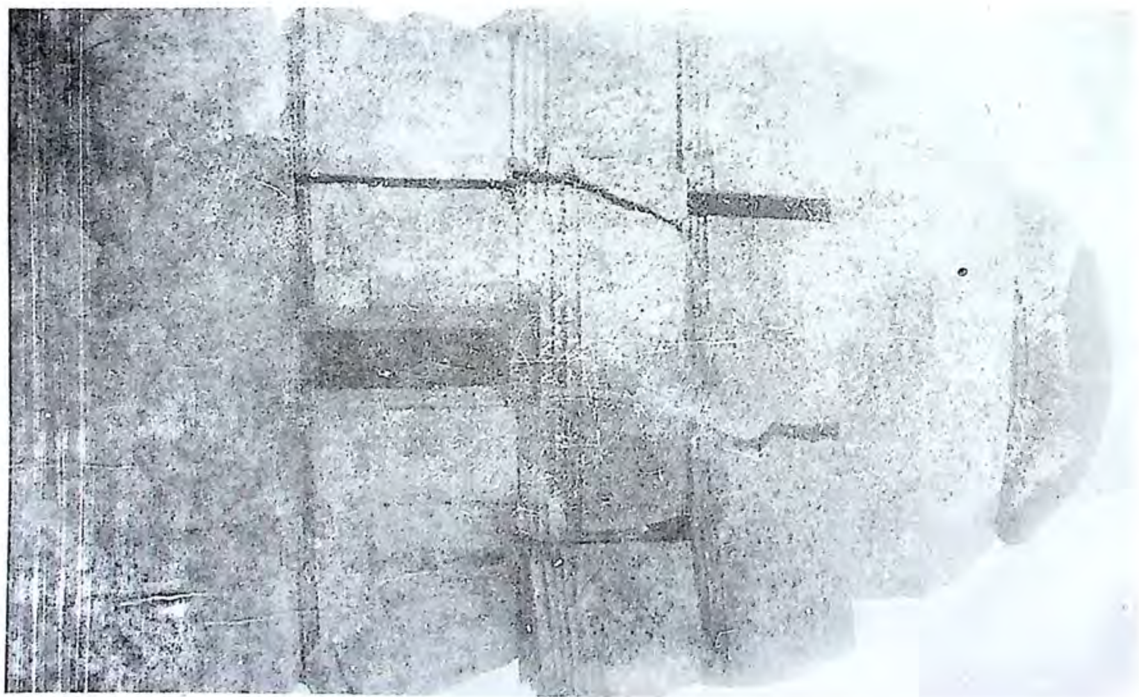
Saṅkarācārya Math, Puri.



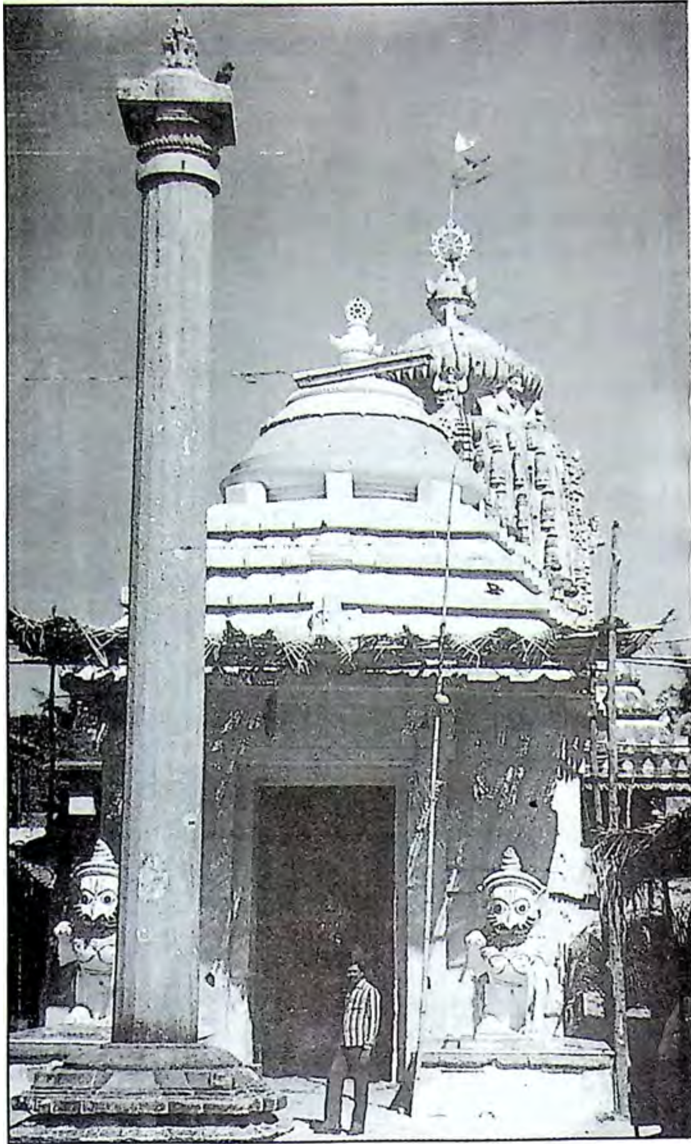
Aruṇa Stambha, Near Lion's Gate.



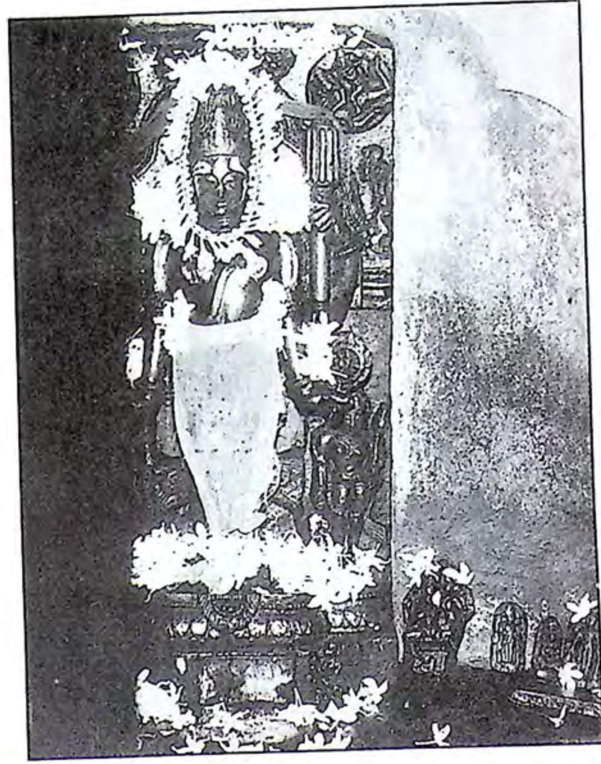
Elephant Cave, Udaigiri, Bhubaneswar.



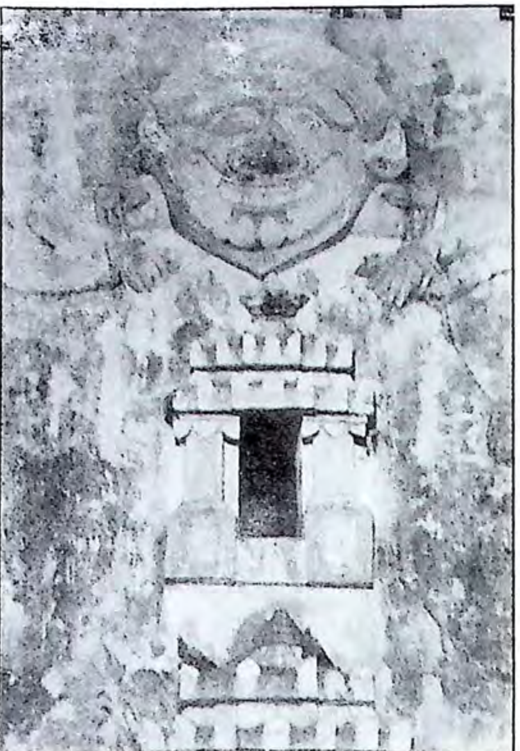
Bhīma Temple, Mahendargiri



Sakhigopal Temple, Puri



Cakra Nārāyan, Visnupur Village.



Entrance Gate to Aṇḷā Bedha of Jagannātha Temple, Puri



Aṇlā Beḍhā of Jagannātha Temple, Puri

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The Book

This work deals with some important aspects relating to the history of Lord Jagannath of Puri. Prior to this, several Indian and foreign scholars have attempted to solve many difficult problems concerning the cult and the iconic features of Lord Jagannath basing on the literary and epigraphic evidences available till then. Their strenuous efforts have been much appreciated. But there are some lacunae in their findings as they had no access to the recently discovered inscriptions. Quite a few of the recently discovered inscriptions of Nrsimha Temple & some other temples of Puri have been clearly deciphered and critically edited in this work.

This book has been brought out in two volumes. The first volume containing 27 inscriptions found in the Nrsimha temple, Markandesuara temple and Patalesvara temple was brought out in the year 1992 along which elaborate historical notes. These inscriptions were incised in North-east Indian Kutila type script. The second volume contains 26 inscriptions found engraved mostly in south, Indian script, in the above Nrsimha temple, Markandesvara temple, Patalesvara temple and a few sites inside the Jagannath temple complex. These have been analysed in detail and a comprehensive historical note basing on the study of these inscriptions has been incorporated in this volume.

We hope this book will offer more scope to draw a correct picture of the history of Lord Jagannath & His cult



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